

India During the Jubilee Year

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INDIA DURING THE JUBILEE REIGN.

THE natives of India have already celebrated the Jubilee, and so far have appeared in the very van of loyal demonstration. In this remarkable manifestation of theirs, there doubtless were four guiding motives : first, a natural desire to please a Ruling Power with which—notwithstanding all drawbacks or abatements—they are, on the whole, well contented ; second, a pride in belonging to an Empire visibly ascending, expanding, increasing ; third, a feeling of thankfulness for many material and moral benefits which a forty years' retrospect brings into bright relief ; fourth, a hope that still further benefits, in the same directions as before or in new directions, may arise during the course of affairs, or be specially conferred. All these motives are quite consistent with dissatisfaction in respect to particular details, or to specific circumstances in the present ; and on the whole they fully suffice to account for the heartiness of the loyalty that has been demonstrated.

In this paper I purpose to review briefly and summarily the facts, reasons, and considerations why, not only a patriotic Briton, but also a thoughtful and well-informed Indian, may look back with pleasure on the fifty years

period which ends on June 21, 1887. For, much as the British Empire all over the world has grown and changed during this time, nowhere have such growth and change been more conspicuous than in the Indian Empire, as regards its land and the people.

This survey will not relate to historical events, but will be one of results only, of administrative improvements, of material development, of moral progress, of social reform. To present anything like a historical summary of the events during the half-century would be to exceed the allowable limits of this essay. But I must here call to mind, that just before the middle of our period, the East India Company ceased to exist, and the administration of India was assumed by the Crown in 1858. India was really an Empire, and the term imperial was habitually used there for all that related to the whole country. In 1877 the title of Empress of India was formally assumed by the British Sovereign. Since then India has become officially, as it was previously in fact, an Empire.

Even with this limitation, the subject is so vast and varied that the several heads in my survey must be rigidly fixed beforehand, in order that the facts may be arranged "in review order," so to speak, and may be kept in their proper places, with due relation one towards another. By these means the proportion of things may be observed with mental perspective, and without any distraction of that steady gaze which ought to be directed towards the main topic.

I shall marshal, then, the principal facts under ten heads, thus:—

I. The imperial area and surveys, the territorial acquisitions and losses.

II. The population, the census, the classification of religions and occupations, the condition of the people.

III. The revenues, land-tax, the finance and public debt, the Army, European and Native, the Navy, and

V. The ocean-borne commerce, the inland trade, the roads and the railways.

VI. The famines, the canals of irrigation, the forests.

VII. The public administration, the Covenanted Service, the Uncovenanted Service, European and Native.

VIII. The legislation and the Courts of Justice, the land-settlements, the police and the prisons.

IX. The national education, the universities, the aspirations of the educated natives.

X. The changes in rites and customs, the public charities, the religious missions.

Under each of these ten headings I shall endeavour to illustrate the difference between 1837 and 1887. But the terms employed must be of a short and general character only.

Before proceeding to the first heading which relates to territorial extension and to military frontiers, it may be well to enumerate, without any description, the chief battles, sieges, and disasters that have signalized the annals of the half-century.

During this time the British Government in India won the following victories in the field: Maharajpur, 1841; Meani, 1843; Sobraon, 1846; Aliwal, 1846; Ferozshah, 1846; Gujerat, 1848; Rangun, 1852; Caubul, 1878; Candahar, 1880.

The battles of Mudki, 1846, and Chilianwala, 1848, were fought without decisive result.

In the same period the following sieges or assaults were conducted to a successful issue: Ghazni, 1839; Multan, 1848; Delhi, 1857; Lucknow, 1858; Jhansi, 1858.

Next to this category may be placed the defence of Jelalabad, 1841; of Candahar, 1841; of Agra, 1857; of Lucknow, 1857.

Campaigns in mountainous or hilly regions were conducted in the passes between Khyber and Caubul, 1842; in the Peshawar mountains, 1864; in Bhutan, 1865; in the Lushai hills, 1871.

On the other hand, disasters were suffered at Caubul, 1841 ; Delhi, 1857 ; Cawnpore, 1857 ; and Maiwand, 1880.

It would be tedious to enumerate the military expeditions undertaken against wild tribes on the North-Western frontier. If counted they would exceed thirty in number.

Nor in a summary like this can the lesser fights and the heroic deeds during the War of the Mutinies be detailed. The sum-total of that terrific outburst, that desperate struggle, and that ultimate victory, constitutes the greatest event in our fifty years.

The first heading, then, is that of the imperial area and surveys, the territorial acquisitions, and the frontiers.

The survey of the Indian area is probably the greatest work of its kind that has been ever undertaken by any Government in any country. It consists of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, fixing with absolute precision the heights of the highest mountains, and the sites of the principal places ; the topographical survey, presenting the details of all the hilly tracts, the revenue survey, presenting the boundaries of every parish or village ; the cadastral survey, showing all the fields in each parish ; the forest survey, showing the tracts under professional conservancy, the engineering survey for the railways and the canals of irrigation ; the geological survey, describing the rock formations, the coal-bearing and metalliferous regions, the marine surveys of the long coast-lines, and the soundings thereto adjacent. This operation is vast in its combination, and is composed of many parts, pertaining to a country of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of square miles, nearly as large as the Continent of Europe (exclusive of Russia). It has been, for the most part, achieved within the last fifty years, though in several important respects it was begun before that time. In general terms, we may say that India is as well mapped as England or any country in Europe. If the vastness of the Indian area be remembered, then the magnitude of this geographical achievement will be appreciated.

Of this achievement, primarily pertain to the British territories,

which comprise about four-fifths of the whole Indian area. They pertain in many respects to the native States also, which comprise the remaining fifth. In some respects, however, such as the surveys of parishes and fields, some of the native States are behindhand.

The imperial area of India, containing one and a half million of square miles, embraces the native States as well as the British territories. It includes the newly annexed Burma, but is exclusive of Nepâl and Belûchistan, both of which States, however, are really members of the British Empire. The question, then, arises, How much of this area has been acquired within the fifty years? The answer is supplied by this short table :—

State.	Area in square miles.	Present population.	Present annual revenue.	Mode of acquisition.	Year.
Sind	48,000	2,400,000	500,000	Conquest	1842
Panjab	88,600	13,900,000	2,000,000	Conquest	1848
Jammu & Cashmir.	68,000	2,000,000	800,000	Conquest	1848
Pegu	26,000	2,400,000	800,000	Conquest	1852
Bhutandoars	1,000	20,000	15,000	Cession	1865
Pishin and Sibi ...	3,000	50,000	40,000	Cession	1879
Burma	200,000	3,000,000	500,000	Annexation	1886
Total	434,600	23,770,000	4,655,000		

These territories were all outside the Empire before the beginning of the Jubilee period, and have come within the Empire subsequently.

In general terms, it may be stated that the Indian Empire was formed, and, in some essential respects, consolidated, before the Jubilee period began. All who rejoice in the sight of the political fabric that now rears its stately head, must regard with respectful gratitude the memory of its founders or builders (before our period), Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesley, Lake, Munro, Shore, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Amherst, Bentinck. But within our period there have been additions, amounting in all to about

* This was constituted as a native State.

one-fourth of the present area, one-fortieth of the present population, and one-fifteenth of the present revenue.

Further within the period, several territories which belonged, indeed, to the Empire, but were native States, have come under British administration, and have been joined to the British territories. These are shown in the following table :—

State.	Area in square miles.	Present population.	Present annual revenue.	Mode of acquisition.	Year.
Sattara	5,000	1,000,000	210,000	Lapse	1849
Jhansi	4,000	1,000,000	200,000	Lapse	1853
Nagpur	61,000	5,100,000	500,000	Lapse	1854
Oudh	24,100	11,700,000	2,000,000	Annexation	1856
Total.....	94,100	18,800,000	2,910,000		

These territories, then, have in the course of events been transferred from native to British administration. They constitute, indeed, an addition to the British territories, but their transfer from one territorial category to another makes no difference to the extent of the Empire.

The province of Berâr is not included in this category, as it belongs to the Nizam's dominions, although it is by treaty under British administration.

Within the fifty years there have been nine considerable wars, irrespective of lesser wars. Of these considerable wars the first Afghan war led to no territorial advantage; the second Afghan war produced only a small cession in Pishin and Sibi. The overshadowing war of the Mutinies caused but little annexation, as the native States were signalized by loyalty; only some few insignificant acquisitions were made. The Bhutan war led to a small acquisition at the foot of the Eastern Himalayas. But the two Panjab wars and the Sind war placed the whole basin of the Indus and its four tributaries under British dominion. And the two Burmese wars—now known as the second and third, the first having taken place before our period—brought the delta and valley of the Irawaddy within the Indian Empire,

The two main conquests, namely, those in the Panjab and Burma, took place on the western and the eastern limits of the Empire. Consequently, while the frontiers on the north and towards the south, being bounded by the mighty Himalayas and by the sea respectively, have remained without change, those on the west and east have been wholly changed.

On the north-west, in 1837, our frontier had no line marked out by nature geographically. It ran indefinitely through the flat region between Delhi and the Satlej, and through the desert that separates Rajputana from the Indus basin. Now, however, the frontier has a rigid and prominent character. It is formed by a mountain range as by a wall—almost like a natural circumvallation—from the Khyber Pass near Peshawar to the hills that jut out into the sea near Karachi. Again, in 1837, the North-Eastern frontier was formed by the range of hills that separates the littoral province of Arracan—on the coast of the Bay of Bengal—from the Irawaddy basin. It is now formed, firstly, by the range that separates the valley of the Sitang river from the basin of the Meinam, or Meh-Nam. Then it winds round the southern border of the Burmese Shan States, till it touches the Chinese Yunnan. Separating Yunnan from Upper Burma, it passes through the wild regions whence the Irawaddy and the Meh-Kong have their source, till it reaches the extremity of Assam.

The whole length of the North-Western frontier, some 2,000 miles from Peshawar to Karachi, was infested by fierce, warlike, and fanatical tribes. It has been subdued, after much fighting, in detail; and, by the long sustained exercise of political skill, it has at last been reduced to quiet, and to such civilization as may be possible in such regions. The pacification of this frontier forms one of the items of British achievement during the present reign.

Having thus sketched the extension, during our period, of an Empire which, while consisting chiefly of British territories, includes also native States under British control

and protection, I must, before proceeding to the next heading, allude briefly to these native States. In round numbers they are 450 in number (greater and lesser together), have a total area of half a million of square miles, and a population of 50 millions. On the whole they were steadfast during the dangers of 1857, and many of them were signally loyal. The account of administration to be given in the future headings will refer not to them, but to the British territory. But their administration has been beneficially affected by British example, and they have followed, or imitated, most of the British reforms. By the gracious favour of the British Sovereign they have been admitted to two Orders of Knighthood, namely, that of the Star of India, and that of the Indian Empire. As minority is of frequent occurrence, the minors become wards of the British Government, and are thus well educated. Special colleges have also been established for young native princes and their relatives.

The recognition in 1858 of their right to adopt heirs has set their old anxieties at rest. If for them there be a Magna Charta, it is this.

The next heading is that of the census and the population, the classification of religions and occupations, and the condition of the people.

Within the fifty years there has been a really vast increase of population, partly from natural increment or multiplication, partly from accession of territory. But the comparative statistics of the two years, though they can be estimated with confidence, cannot be stated with precision. For in the earlier part of the two years there was no census worthy of the name. It was then thought politically hazardous to institute an imperial census, and there was a hesitancy in carrying out any measure of that kind. During the period, however, a census was taken, first for one province, then for another. But it was not till 1881 that a census was completely taken for the whole Empire in a form which admitted of comparison with a census nearly

complete, taken ten years previously. Then it was ascertained that the population of the Empire (including both the British territories and the native States) amounted to 253 millions of souls, and had increased about 13 millions by natural increment during the preceding ten years, or at the rate of 1½ millions, say 1,200,000, yearly, notwithstanding mortality from two widespread famines within the decennial period. This increase, too, occurred in the British territories only. There must in the native States have been some increase also which cannot be exactly ascertained.

Since 1881 the natural increase must have been going on, especially as no famine has occurred. Burma Proper, too, or Ava, has been added, with a population of about 3 millions. Thus we may suppose the present population to be hardly short of 260 millions, exclusive of Belûchistan, Nepâl, and Bhutan, which must contain several millions of people.

From this truly grand basis I proceed to estimate what the population of the Empire may have been in 1837, so as to reckon the increase from that year up to 1887.

For this comparison I reckon the 23,770,000, or say 24 millions, already shown as belonging to Sind, the Panjab Proper, with Jammu and Kashmir, and Burma (including both Lower Burma or Pegu, and Upper Burma or Ava). These I deduct from the 260 millions. By the experience of the last decennial period the annual increment may be judged to have been more than a million annually, say 1,100,000. This would give 55 millions for the fifty years. The two sums make a total of 79 millions. Thus, for purposes of comparison, we must deduct the 79 millions from the 260 millions of 1887, and say that in 1837 the population could not have been more than 181 millions, and that in round numbers the population of the Indian Empire has increased by 79 millions during the Jubilee period. If there is any fault in the calculation it will be this, that the increment has been greater than that above reckoned. For certainly the histories of 1837 seldom set

down the population at more than 150 millions for the Empire as it then was.

At the beginning of our period the Empire embraced the whole Hindu race, about 195 millions of souls, and still embraces it. But within the period a considerable addition has been made to the Muhammadan population by the conquest of Sindh. By the annexation of the Panjab the Sikh race became one of the nationalities of the Empire. By the conquest, first of Pegu, and then of Upper Burma, an important section of the Buddhist world has come under British rule.

Within the period the Hindu race has grown in numbers and in status; it has gained intellectual power by means of education, and has risen in influence more than any other race in the Empire. But the Muhammadan population, while multiplying fast in the eastern districts of the Empire, has on the whole been losing ground in respect of political status and influence. The Parsis, Zoroastrians or fire-worshippers, have increased in numbers much, but still more in wealth and status. The aboriginal tribes are probably not increasing, and it is thought that many of their people are drifting away into Hinduism.

From the midst of Hinduism has sprung the new sect of Brahmos, who may be described as theists. Though their number may not be absolutely great, yet their weight is important, as they are the representatives of the newly educated classes. The origin and progress of this interesting sect may be regarded as the outcome of the Western education, as a protest against the mythological faith of later Hinduism, and as a return to the Vedic philosophy which ushered in the dawn of the Hindu mind. It is morally and intellectually the most remarkable phenomenon of our period.

The occupations of the people have not changed during our period in any essential respect save one. The bulk is still agricultural; the artisan classes have, on the whole, the same proportion as formerly; for while some

ancient manufactures have died out, other new industries have arisen. The exception is that of the military classes. Before our period these were very numerous and important, and remained so after its beginning. But during its course, especially since the war of the Mutinies, they have been decreasing fast. The habits of the people have become less warlike and more home-abiding or domestic. This change arises from the circumstances of the time under the Pax Britannica, the improvement in work and wages, the multiplication of civil employments, and the security of landed tenure. Together with the lessening demand for native soldiery, the supply of recruits for the native army, in the British territories, has shrunk considerably.

Though the death-rate is comparatively high, the physical condition of the people must have been sensibly improved by the sanitary reforms introduced within our period; the drainage works in all the great cities and most of the larger towns; the noble water-works at all the crowded centres of population; the urban conservancy more or less in all districts; the vaccination; the special treatment of epidemics of cholera, small-pox, fever, and other plagues; and the famine-relief operations. The ravages of these dread diseases have been checked undoubtedly. Still it must be sorrowfully admitted that occasionally epidemics have desolated whole tracts of country, and, after being checked, reappear destructively in a form almost chronic, and lasting over months and even years, thus baffling professional skill and preventive effort.

Inquirers and statisticians have often feared that the sanitary reforms, the relief on the largest scale in times of famine, the very Pax Britannica, of which we are justly proud, may cause the population to increase to an amount beyond the capabilities of the soil for sustenance. Certainly the population in several large districts is too dense, and in some tracts there is a tendency to congestion. The emigration from such tracts to the tropical colonies, as Mauritius, British Guiana, and the West Indies, however

important for those regions, has produced no appreciable effect on the population of India. Within the Indian Empire there is yet much land available. Though the average in congested districts may range from 460 to 800 to the square mile, yet for the whole country it is not high, being only 180. Moreover the cultivated land by agricultural improvements may be, and by artificial irrigation certainly is being or will be, augmented greatly. Philanthropic observers, measuring their inferences by exclusively European standards, have become sometimes apprehensive, lest the people, multiplying over-fast, should outgrow their food supply, and should lapse into pauperism. But if the people produce, earn, and possess much less than Europeans, yet they need much less for livelihood and comfort. If the narrow margin, which with the poor in all countries exists between their resources and their necessities, be compared for England and India respectively, the difference will be in favour of India. In other words, the Indian poor do not feel the pinch of want, the *res angusta domi*, so severely as the English poor. As to food-supply, two points are noteworthy: first, that in all the wide-spread famines which have happened, the grain, rice and corn, for famishing multitudes has always come from within the limits of India itself; second, that India has always exported edible grains by millions of hundred-weight annually, and has of late become one of the principal wheat-importing countries to the English markets. Within our period, again, the prices of food and the wages of labour have nearly doubled in India. At the same time, the rate of interest on which accommodation can be obtained by the people, has fallen considerably. The improvement in the cottages and in the domestic implements of the poor is notorious. The development of the trade will be seen presently. Poverty, then, cannot, in a politico-economic sense, be said to be deepening amidst a people whose numbers are growing, whose cultivation is expanding, whose prices and wages are rising, whose dwellings are

improving, whose trade is increasing, and whose exportation of edible grains is very considerable, and among whom the absorption of the precious metals is appreciable.

Our third heading is that of the revenues and receipts, the land-tax, the finances, and the public debt.

In this statement I follow the old method, to which the Government of India still adhere, whereby £1 is set down to every ten rupees, though the relative value of the two sums is fluctuating, and in these days there is a difference as against the rupees.

The revenues and receipts of the British-Indian territories (irrespective of the native States) are nowadays swollen by several new items, such as those relating to the guaranteed railways. Thus the comparison is rendered, perhaps, unduly favourable to 1887 in respect to 1837. But technically it is necessary to take the total as it has been shown in the Indian budgets for several years past. Thus taken, the total for 1887 may be set down at 76 millions sterling, by the Indian Budget, showing a slight surplus over the expenditure. The corresponding total for 1837-8 may be set down at 21 millions sterling, by Prinsep's tables, showing a difference of 55 millions between the beginning and the end of the Jubilee period, or an increase of 250 per cent. Of this increase it will be observed that 8 millions are due to the accession of territory already shown under the two categories of my first heading. The remainder of the increase is due in part to the accession of new items of receipt, in part to the augmentation of taxation, in part to natural growth of the public resources. On the one hand, the direct taxation has been raised in some respects. For instance, the income-tax is a new fiscal invention within the period. The salt-tax may be reckoned in the same category; it is an ancient impost, but its rate has been raised, and whereas the article used to be obtained from India alone, it is now in part obtained from England. On the other hand, many direct taxes of a miscellaneous character have been abolished, and many import duties have been remitted.

The assessment of the land-tax, which is the fiscal mainstay, has been revised within our period for all provinces of the Empire except the permanently settled provinces of Bengal and Behar. The revision has extended either to every field or to the holding of every taxpayer. Scrupulous moderation has been observed; in many places much reduction has been allowed, and usually the increase obtained has been due to the expansion of cultivation.

The expenditure has, of course, grown, *pari passu*, with the revenues and receipts. During the earlier part of our period the difference was not always technically marked between the deficit which may happen in the ordinary or internal administration, and the deficit arising from external expenditure on war, or from an extraordinary outlay on material development. If these external or extraordinary charges be kept separate, then, in general terms, it may be said that, throughout our period, India has paid her way financially quite well. Since 1860, when a budget system on the English model was formally introduced, and when the expenses properly chargeable to the public debt or the capital account were duly exhibited, there have been indeed some years of deficit on the ordinary or internal account of the Empire, but there have also been years of surplus. And on the whole the surplus has overbalanced the deficit. This calculation, too, includes the fact that India has paid from her ordinary account full fifteen millions sterling for the relief of famine. She also paid from her cash balances fourteen millions towards the expenses of the last Afghan war.

In its ordinary expenditure of about 76 millions sterling the Government devotes a goodly proportion to the civil administration, which is specially directed towards the benefit and the progress of the people. Of the whole expenditure, about 19 millions are devoted to defence, including the army and the navy, 7 millions to the collection of the revenue, 5 millions to the interest on debt, and the re-

maining 45 millions to the civil administration and to public improvement of all sorts. This is exclusive of the annual outlay on material improvement from capital account.

Of the expenditure, it is remarkable that more than one-fourth, amounting to 16 millions (including loss by exchange), is incurred in England. This proportion has increased greatly within our period by reason of loans contracted in England of which the interest is payable there, and by reason of the quantities of stores for public works which have to be purchased there also. The charge for the pensions payable to retired officers, civil and military, always has been considerable. The sum annually payable by India is reckoned in gold for England; and as India has only silver wherewith to pay, the loss thus entailed on her by the depreciation of silver has proved excessive. On the other hand, the trade of India has not suffered, but in some respects has rather benefited, by this depreciation.

The history of the public debt within our period has been interesting and remarkable. The total amount at the beginning of this period stood at 31 millions sterling (according to Prinsep's table), and had been incurred entirely for war. It now stands at nearly 165 millions sterling, showing an increase of 134 millions. This increase has arisen partly from war and partly from those public improvements which for all countries are included in the capital account. To this total, for popular exposition, we may add the 93 millions of capital expended on railways, of which capital the interest is guaranteed by the State. This would bring the sum-total of State obligations up to nearly 259 millions. In round numbers it may be said that of the 259 millions of State obligations, nearly 65 millions have been spent on material improvements, railways, canals, and other public works, which already yield a net return more than equal to the interest on the borrowed capital, and 93 millions on the Guaranteed Railways. The remainder,

about 101 millions, equal to less than the State revenues and receipts for two years, have been spent on war. The suppression of the Mutinies, and of the consequent disturbance, cost 36 millions out of this sum. The general condition of indebtedness is not otherwise than satisfactory.

Of the debt, by far the larger portion is held by English people. A portion, however, amounting to 20 millions sterling, is held by the natives of India. At the beginning of our period the rate of interest was 5 per cent. for the most part, seldom less and sometimes more. At the end it ranges from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

The financial control of the Supreme Government of India has within our period been strengthened by the centralization of audit and account. Since 1860, too, a budget statement on the English model has been introduced. But since 1872 a separate Provincial Finance for the administration of various local services has been provisionally settled for each province in the Empire.

Popular savings banks have grown up within our period, having now about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling of deposits.

During the fifty years the coinage of silver in India has amounted to 299 millions sterling, and that of gold to $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

Further, in 1860, a State paper-currency was introduced, which now has a circulation of about 15 millions sterling.

The fourth heading contains the defensive arrangements, the Army, European and Native, the Navy, and Marine.

During our period the army of India as a local or separate force has been abolished and amalgamated with the forces of the Crown. It consisted in some part of Europeans, but chiefly of natives. After the amalgamation a staff corps was formed for India, to consist of officers who, after serving for a while with European regiments, should be devoted either to the native army or to employ in the civil and political departments.

The total number of the forces in 1837 amounted to 36,000 Europeans, 218,000 natives, in all 254,000. In 1887

the number stands at 69,000 Europeans, 126,000 natives, in all 195,000. In 1837 the cost of the army was eight millions sterling. The number of men is less now, but the cost is more than double. In return for the increased cost we have an augmentation of fighting power. Mid-way in the period after the War of the Mutinies the composition of the forces was materially modified, the native element being reduced, the European element being strengthened so much as to be nearly doubled. In 1837 there was one European soldier to six native; but in 1887 there is one European soldier to two native. It must be added, however, that of the native police some 50,000 are armed and disciplined. The artillery arm, always important, "ubique" (according to its proud motto), is under no circumstances so supremely important as in Asiatic warfare. In 1837 the artillery in India was in part European, but in large part native. In 1887 it is (with some slight exceptions) entirely European. At the beginning of the period the fortresses, the arsenals, and magazines, the central treasuries, and many strategic points were for the most part garrisoned by native troops. They are now almost entirely garrisoned by European troops. This again is an important difference. The horses for the army in 1837 were largely obtained from local studs or from Indian home-bred markets. They are in 1887 obtained in part only from local resources, and in the larger part from Australia and from the countries bordering on or beyond the Persian Gulf.

It would here be interesting to compare the former and the present proportions which the soldiery bear to the civil population. Of the 260 millions of population, about 200 millions belong to the British territories, exclusive of the native States. The total of 195,000 soldiers would give one soldier to 1,050 inhabitants. But it may be doubted whether this calculation is quite fair to the peaceful inhabitants of these territories, because a portion of the army is cantoned beyond their limits in native States. There

is practically, however, no other way of showing the calculation except the one adopted above. In the same way it is probable that in 1837 the proportion must have been one soldier to every 600 inhabitants.

It were superfluous to dilate on the difference which armament can make in military power. All the changes that have in this respect been introduced in Britain have almost simultaneously spread to India.

During our period the barracks of the European soldiery have been entirely reconstructed on vastly improved plans. Numerous other arrangements have been made for the comfort and welfare of the men. And the reorganization of the native forces under the Crown has been so managed as to lessen the former proportion of European officers (a certain proportion being retained for safety), and thus to augment the status and the responsibility of the native officers.

In no country does military power depend more on the means of rapid movement than in India. This mobility has been enormously augmented by the railway system, to which I shall presently advert, and which has been created wholly within our period.

On the whole, it may be said that without any increase of numerical strength there has been a potent growth in fighting power and warlike resource in the fifty years, and that the composition of the forces is far more conducive to the fundamental safety of the Empire now than formerly.

Besides the British forces in India, there are the forces employed by the native States. The total number of these is reckoned at 345,000 men in various stages of organization and discipline.

At the beginning of our period the naval defence and service of India was entrusted to the Indian Navy. But midway in the period, that is, in 1861, the Indian Navy was abolished after a long career of usefulness and honour. An arrangement was then made for India with the British Admiralty that a certain number of ships of war should be

stationed in Indian waters, under a separate naval command for the East Indies. There are generally some fourteen ships of war, unarmoured, on this duty, cruising from the Red Sea to the head of the Persian Gulf, from Ceylon to the end of the Bay of Bengal, and from Bombay to the African coast. Two small ironclads for harbour defence are also stationed at Bombay. The provision for naval force would of course be quite inadequate in event of any war threatening India from seaward, but it can be speedily reinforced from the United Kingdom.

The Indian marine, with the dockyards at Calcutta and Bombay, has been re-constituted. For naval warfare, however, these dockyards would be wholly insufficient. The main duty of the marine relates to sea transport between India and Burma, or between Bombay and Karachi.

The marine service has, further, a helpful resource in the private companies that navigate the Eastern waters, represented by the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and the British India Steam Navigation Company within our period. Both these companies have powerful fleets of vessels, which can be placed at the disposal of the Government in time of war, and can render emergent service in time of peace. For instance, in 1874 the transport of rice supplies for the Bengal famine from Rangun to Calcutta was done by one of these companies, the British Indian. In 1878 the despatch of a force from Bombay to Malta was managed chiefly through the means of these two companies together.

Having thus touched on the topics primarily affecting the existence of an Empire—namely, the territorial area, the population, the finances, the army and navy—I proceed to matters of an economic and social character. I thus arrive at my fifth heading, which relates to the ocean-borne commerce, the inland trade, the roads, and railways.

The development of the ocean-borne commerce forms one of the greatest national factors during our fifty years of progress. Its total amount, imports and exports, merchan-

dise and treasure, stood at 22 millions sterling of annual value in 1837, and stands at 141 millions in 1887: the difference between the beginning and the end of our period being 119 millions of annual value, or an increase of more than six-fold. There are other remarkable differences besides the difference of amount.

At the beginning the foreign trade with Europe went wholly by the long sea route round the Cape of Good Hope. It now goes to a large extent, over two-thirds, by the Suez Canal. It was then carried entirely by sailing vessels; now much the larger part is carried by steamers. It was then concentrated primarily in Britain, and after the amount needed there for home consumption had been retained, the remainder was thence distributed among the nations of Europe. This distribution, which in its day was favourable to British ports and markets, has been much affected by the opening of the Suez Canal. Nowadays much traffic from India is not only diverted thus to Mediterranean and Black Sea harbours, but also goes to the northern sea-ports of the Continent. In round numbers it may be said that 60 per cent. of India's foreign trade is with the United Kingdom, and 40 per cent. with the other nations of the world.

Throughout our period the main characteristic of the foreign trade has been this, that India exports raw produce and receives manufactured articles in return. She still exports, indeed, as she has always exported, some articles of rare beauty and interest, but their bulk and aggregate value are relatively inconsiderable. In the beginning some cereals, as rice and maize, seeds, fibres, and some articles, as sugar, tobacco, spices, dyes, drugs, were the chief staples. But by the close of our period this list has become enlarged by some important particulars. Tea is now a very valuable export, and next after it comes coffee. The exportation of jute has arisen and grown within our period. The trade in the other fibres expanded as an indirect consequence of the war with Russia in 1854. The

exportation of cotton became suddenly inflated as a direct consequence of the American Civil War in 1863. Though it sank after the conclusion of the war, yet the impulse which had been given remained in some degree. The agricultural events throughout the world since 1880, and the consequent fall in prices, have imparted a wonderful stimulus to one cereal in India—namely, wheat. That staple of export, which was insignificant at the beginning of our period, now amounts to 16 millions of cwts. annually. It forms a proportion of one-fourth in the total importation of foreign wheat into the United Kingdom.

Of the total importation of manufactured articles into India, more than nine-tenths are from the United Kingdom. Our British manufacturers, then, are as yet in full possession of the Indian market, which is the greatest they now have, and which, next after that of China, is also the greatest they could possibly obtain in the present condition of the world. In the textile branch of industry the cotton goods hold the principal place, but the importation of woollen goods is as yet imperfectly developed, and perhaps is only, so to speak, in its infancy. The importation of iron and other metals of plant and machinery from Britain has fast grown during the latter portion of our period. It already is equal to one-fourth of the total export of these exports from Britain, and affords a prospect of further development. Before our period the salt consumed by the vast population was obtained locally in India. But for the last twenty years about one-third of the supply, chiefly needed for consumption in the Gangetic provinces, is imported from England.

The shipping that carries this ocean-borne traffic at the beginning was chiefly under the British flag, but partly also under other flags. But now about fifteen-sixteenths of it are under the British flag only. In Indian, as in other ports, this result is partly owing to the decrease of ship-building in America, in consequence of tariff arrangements there. The aggregate tonnage now stands at $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of tons,

equal to more than one-third of the total British shipping. Accommodation has been afforded by the docks at Bombay, and by the harbour arrangements at Calcutta.

The coasting trade has been fostered by the marine arrangements mentioned under the last heading, in regard to steamers. But also the country-rigged native craft plying along the 3,000 miles of coast are to be reckoned by some thousands of vessels.

The river traffic in the lower reaches of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra has been mightily developed. The supply of boats and boatmen in various parts of the Empire is excellent.

The inland trade has within our period been promoted enormously, first by metalled roads, and second by railways. Unmetalled roads existed previously, and metalling or macadamizing had begun, but it was during this time that the metalling of the main lines was undertaken. The mileage thus metalled may be reckoned at about 10,000 miles, much of which length was finely engineered amidst physical obstacles. The railways now have a total length of 13,000 miles. They have been made either under State guarantee (of interest on capital), or directly by State capital. They carry about 19 millions of tons of goods annually, and issue 81 millions of tickets to passengers. The result is, of course, due to our period, and it shows how largely the natives are availing themselves of this new advantage.

Besides general consequences, there are some particular consequences traceable during the last twenty years, more or less to steamer-borne ocean traffic and to railways. The working of coal-mines in several parts of India has been stimulated considerably, and that of iron-mines also, though to a much smaller extent. The manufacture of piece goods on the British model and with British machinery has been largely established at Bombay, and the same thing has been done with the jute manufactures at Calcutta.

In connection with railways there are, of course, the

electric telegraphs. Besides the telegraphs along the railways, the Government has now about 25,000 miles of its own telegraphs, along which some 370,000 paid messages are despatched yearly.

The next heading shall comprise certain matters affecting the physical condition of the country and the people, namely, the famines, the canals of irrigation, and the forests.

During the fifty years, dearth and the consequent misery have occurred from time to time. There was famine in the North-Western Provinces during 1837 and during 1861, in Orissa during 1865, in Rajputana during 1868, in Bengal and Behar during 1874, in Western and Southern India during 1877, including the Bombay Presidency and the Madras Presidency with Mysore. These may be counted as the six principal famines, and of these the two last were the most widespread and extensive. But besides these, there have been other scarcities of lesser extent or duration. In all ages famine has been the recurring plague of India, and our period has been in this respect as unfortunate as preceding periods. In all cases the cause has been the same—the failure of the rains in due season; there has been, too, a sameness in the sad result, namely, the scarcity of food supply in the market, the dearth of prices, the cessation of employment in the fields for the labouring poor in an agricultural population. The mortality, to be reckoned by hundred thousands, has been great in each of the cases above mentioned except two; namely, that of Bengal and Behar, where the consequences of famine were averted, and in Bombay, where it was comparatively slight. In one case, that of Orissa, it was lamentably excessive, because the contingency was not foreseen in time, and succour came too late. In some cases, again, it was aggravated by the rains failing in the second of two consecutive years. Lastly, in some cases it has been protracted by epidemic sickness attacking a population that had just survived scarcity. In all these several instances strenuous efforts were made by the Government and its officers to save the lives threatened with starvation.

The success vouchsafed, however, to these humane exertions was chequered and precarious. In 1874 the Government resolved to systematize with all its might the administration for the saving of life from famine, and the same policy was pursued in 1877. In the former instances the Government had derived little or no advantage from the railways. But in 1874 the benefit of the railways was vast, and in 1877 was priceless. Indeed, in 1877, so widespread and protracted was the calamity, that but for the railways the mortality must have been too terrible for contemplation. By the means at its disposal the Government has been able of late years to keep the grain-markets supplied and to prevent the food-prices rising to famine rates. But the hardest trial is to provide a livelihood for the field-labourers when there is no tillage on the parched ground and no crops to be cut. This provision can be afforded only by relief works on a gigantic scale. From first to last many millions of people found employment on these works. The total cost of the relief operations during the period may be set down at 15 millions sterling within the last fifteen years, and several millions previously (during our period), of which the amount cannot be given exactly.

Immediately connected with this grave matter is the subject of canals of irrigation, which forms one of the happiest items in the catalogue of British achievements in the East. The canals of India are constructed in a secondary degree only for navigation ; as navigable canals they may be surpassed in several countries, especially in China. But as canals of irrigation they are, in their totality, the greatest that have ever been made in any age or country, and are probably greater than all the other canals of the kind in the world put together. Within our period the great rivers, as they emerge from their mountains—either the Himalayan ranges or the continental ranges of India—the Ganges, the Jamna, the Satlej, the Beas, the Ravee, the Chenab, the Godaveri, the Kistna (or Krishna), the Cauveri, the Colerûn, and other rivers—have been taken in hand by the hydraulic engineers,

and have had their waters subdued, diverted and diffused for the uses of agriculture. The services thus rendered to the culture of superior products at all times, and to the saving of human life in times of dearth, are incalculable. To the State treasury also the benefit has been great, for besides the protection of the land revenue from failure of crops, the canal department yields a net interest of 6 per cent. on the capital outlay. Before our period irrigation works always engaged the solicitude of native rulers, and the lesser works of this kind still existing redound to the credit of native rule. The network of canals along the lower course of the Indus in Sind—thence called the Egypt of India—must be set down to the credit of the natives. Some of the British works, too, have been based on the foundation of the existing native works. But the mighty works specified above have been beyond native power, and have been such as to tax the resources of a Western nation like the British, in scientific skill, in mechanical means, in the provision of capital. The construction of these works, then, has been entirely accomplished within our period. There are now about 20,000 miles of canals, including main distributors, irrigating about 25 millions of acres.

Affecting the conditions of climate, rainfall, moisture, and water supply for irrigation, is the state of the woods and forests. In India, as in other countries, the sylvan resources of Nature were for ages depredated by the hand of man, without anything being left for reproduction after felling, and without any provision for the future. There, as elsewhere, the Government was aroused in time to prevent the destruction from being complete, though too late to repair much mischief that had been irreparably done. There is now a department of scientific forestry, which in part manages, and in part supervises, a forest area of about 70,000 square miles, more or less under conservation. The expenditure amounts to about £680,000 annually, and the income to about £1,000,000. In India the administration is always apt to assume such large dimensions, that this Indian

Forest Department is now probably the largest in the world. It is to be reckoned among the achievements of our period.

The seventh heading has reference to the public administration, the Covenanted Service, the Uncovenanted Service, European and Native.

The Covenanted Civil Service has been the main factor in Indian administration. Its friends and supporters have held it to be the finest service of its kind in the world. It consists of a highly trained and organized body of British gentlemen, who are appointed in England under covenant with certain conditions of serving the State during the best years of life, and to whom the chief offices in the civil administration of the country are secured by law. The appointments in England used to be made by patronage at the disposal of the directors of the East India Company. But midway in our period a fundamental change was made, and in 1854 these appointments were thrown open to competition in England. As the men appointed under the old system retire, their places are taken by men who have won their position under the new system, till by this time the service is filled chiefly with the men of the new system. Whether the change has produced any marked effect in India I cannot say. The service was excellent before; it is still excellent. But the effect of the change has been favourable in England. The present generation of British people would never endure that patronage should give the entrance to a service entitled by law to hold all the best civil posts in the Indian Empire. And now the entrance to this great service is a prize attainable by any student in the United Kingdom who can surpass all comers in examination—*detur meliori*.

Within our period European agency has been introduced into several branches of civil administration. For this purpose officers have been appointed in England and sent out to India, having been specially selected or trained. In this manner a European service has been

organized for the departments of Public Works, of the Electric Telegraph, of Education, of Forestry. Thus a valuable and important body of officers has been created, over and above any officers who may be selected from the Military Staff Corps for any branch of civil employ. Again, for some departments, such as the civil administration in some of the provinces, the police, the post office, and some parts of the financial department, European officers chosen in India have been largely appointed within our period. So far there has been an increase in the European agency of a superior kind.

On the other hand, for the superior posts in many of these branches, natives, duly educated and qualified, have been declared to be eligible equally with Europeans. As the higher education spreads, natives of talent and merit will find their way more and more into these departments. Already for the lesser administrative posts, for clerkships and for ministerial posts—which used to be held by Europeans—natives have for many years past been chosen. Thus while European agency of the first kind has increased, that of the second kind has considerably decreased within our period.

The policy for some time past, indeed, has been to raise the position of native officials in all departments, to gradually augment their emoluments, to make provision for leave and for retirement, and so to render their prospects secure for life—*dum se bene gesserint*. By these means can fidelity and integrity be best secured. Without claiming more than is due for the natives in these respects, and while acknowledging whatever faults may yet remain, we may say that within our period the improvement in their conduct, character and reputation has been signal and happy.

Further, the hope of attaining some of the best prizes in the public service has been held out to the natives by the appointment of some of them to high offices. In pursuance of this policy arrangements have been made for appointing a limited number of natives, particularly

chosen in India, to the Covenanted Civil Service. This is in addition to the opportunity which any native youth now has of winning an entrance to that service by proceeding to England and entering into the competition lists there.

The improvement in the status of the native officers in the judicial department can be best shown under the next heading, which will relate to the Courts of Justice.

Within our period the old leave and furlough rules for all Europeans, whether in the Covenanted or the Uncovenanted Service, have been essentially altered for the better. Formerly there were restrictions upon these officers returning for a time to Europe, either on sick leave or any leave except furlough, which involved a temporary sacrifice of appointment. But these barriers did not long survive the opening of rapid communication with England. So these restrictions were swept away, and now any officer having obtained leave, be it short or long, may proceed to any place he chooses. This change has beneficially modified the conditions of Anglo-Indian life.

Our eighth heading shall comprise the legislation, the Courts of Justice, the land settlements, the police, and prisons.

The constitution of the Indian Empire has, during all periods, been fixed by Act of Parliament, with modifications from time to time. The status of the Indian Government is thus settled by the British Legislature. But the mode in which that Government enacts laws for India and the Indians has been wholly changed during our period. Formerly these laws were framed by the Executive Government alone. Then just before the opening of our period, British jurists began to be sent out to India to assist the Government. Afterwards, Legislative Councils were established in a very limited form, and were subsequently developed into their present status. Natives as well as Europeans, non-officials as well as officials, are eligible for seats in them. Though the Government by means of its official members can always command a

majority, still the mixed non-official element of Europeans and natives is considerable. No new law can be passed, no new taxation can be imposed, without their consent. If the financial budget of the year contains no proposal for fresh taxes, then it need not necessarily be submitted to the Legislative Council. But if it do contain such proposals, then it must be so submitted. The members, whether official or non-official, are still appointed by the Government, and the elective principle has not yet been admitted. On the whole, however, the non-official community, including Europeans and natives, has an effective voice in the enactment of laws and the imposition of new taxes. The natives have thus acquired some influence in, and a corresponding responsibility for, the course of legislation.

Some of the principal parts of the Indian legislation have been framed with the help of English jurists sent out to India for that purpose, and sometimes with the counsel of jurists and judges in England itself. The legislation thus devised consists of a Penal Code, a Civil and Criminal Procedure, a Law of Contracts, and other comprehensive laws. It has been specially adapted to the needs of India by Anglo-Indian administrators on the spot, and in its final stages it has passed through the Legislative Councils in India. It is believed to be scientific in the newest sense with the lights of experience, and to be suitably practical as well. It constitutes one of the most brilliant achievements of our period.

In respect to the Courts of Justice, there has been within our period a fundamental change in the authority which controls and supervises them. Formerly in each of the three Presidencies there used to be a Supreme Court, virtually an English institution, and a Sadar Court, an Indian institution. Now in each Presidency the two are merged into one High Court, in which some judges are from the English bar, some from the Covenanted Civil Service, and some are natives. To the High Courts are

entrusted the supervision of the entire administration of justice in all courts within their territorial jurisdiction, and over all British subjects, whether European or native.

The improvement of the native Civil Courts in the interior of the country in all provinces is one of the happy results attained within our period. This has been accomplished by discriminating care in the selection of educated natives for the judicial service; by the graduating of emoluments on an ascending scale, so that promotion may be secured, and by liberal provision for pension. The native judges are now far more highly esteemed by their countrymen than formerly. Their proceedings and judgments command the public confidence more and more. By the new procedure delays have been shortened and costs reduced.

The law of debtor and creditor used to be very faulty, as tending to place humble and improvident borrowers in rural districts at the mercy of skilful and educated lenders. It has been much improved, no doubt, but we must fear that its working is yet very defective. Indebtedness is still the bane of many rural localities.

In co-operation with the surveys, and with the land revenue assessments already mentioned, a complete registration of landed tenures, down to the minutest particulars, has been effected within our period for all the British territories excepting the permanently settled provinces of Bengal and Behar. In these vast territories peasant proprietorship exists, of which the basis, the rights, and the privileges are secured by law and by a register accurately kept up and accessible to all. The selling value of land has in consequence greatly increased within our period. The rights of the cultivators have been secured in the same way. In an essay like this there is no space for recounting the steps and processes of these operations. I have only room to say here that they constitute the greatest of all the civil achievements of our period.

In the administration of the criminal law, the suppres-

sion of Thagi, of female infanticide, of organized dacoitee or gang-robbery, is the principal event within our period. These crimes had in several parts of the country acquired a dreadful importance, having become systematized with secrecy and persistency. The domestic slavery in a mild form, which existed largely in many districts, has been abolished within our period.

Within it, also, the regular police has been re-formed throughout the Empire and constituted as a separate department under European officers, and with native officers receiving emoluments much higher than any that had been previously granted. This measure has improved the character of the force, and has infused into it something of effective energy. The strength is about 150,000 men.

The rural or village police, as an ancient institution of the country, has been preserved continuously. But within our period its status and remuneration have been secured by legal enactments.

The prisons in a hot climate like that of India will, if not rigorously and humanely supervised, become places of misery. They were wretched under native rule, and were indifferently managed in the beginning of our own rule. But within the period strenuous exertions have been made by the Government to render them in some degree worthy of the Empire. New central prisons for long-term prisoners have been erected with scientific care for health and discipline. With the same view all the lesser prisons have been more or less reconstructed. Attention has been given not only to the elementary education of prisoners, but also to their industrial instruction. Many articles of much refinement, and highly esteemed by the public sometimes even in England, have been made by the hands of these prisoners under European supervision.

I cannot conclude this heading without remembering that corruption and misfeasance used to be among the characteristics of the native subordinate officials in all departments. To mitigate these characteristics has been

the constant effort of the Government. How far this effort has succeeded may perhaps be doubted by those who survey India for the first time nowadays. But when I recall the character which native officials had when I first knew them in 1849, and that which they enjoyed when I left them in 1880, I say that the improvement was greater than anything which I ever expected to see. The moral advancement is due to education and to improvement in status. Educate the native officials ethically and practically, give them something considerable to enjoy in the present, and to hope for in the future—then they will rise in honesty and efficiency.

The ninth heading relates to mental and moral progress, to the national education, the universities, the aspirations of educated natives.

Before our period much attention was paid by the Government to Oriental learning, both at the Presidency towns and at the other centres of Hindu and Muhamadan learning. The attainments in this respect were remarkable; indeed, the accomplishments of many individuals have rendered their memory illustrious. Some colleges and schools were established at the principal places, and inquiries were made regarding primary education in the interior of the country, and the indigenous schools which then existed in the villages. There were committees or councils of education at the seats of Government. But, on the whole, there was no system of State-aided or national education; and no considerable charge for public instruction found a place in the financial budgets.

Within our period a complete system of national education, on the English model, has been established, embracing all classes from the highest to the humblest, from the university to the village school. For this purpose a sum of £800,000 is entered annually in the budget, representing one-twentieth of the total of the civil expenditure. In addition to this, local rates are levied in the various districts for primary schools. Large sums, too, are obtained

by voluntary contributions, as the condition on which grants-in-aid may be allowed. Thus about 2½ millions sterling annually from all sources, public and private, are expended on education.

Three universities have been established—at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—to each of which many colleges are affiliated in different parts of the country. To these a fourth university has recently been added in the Panjab. Three Medical Colleges and several Medical Schools have also been established.

There is now a primary school in every large village throughout the Empire, and, in localities where the habitations are more scattered, a school for every group of villages. Grants-in-aid, upon examination, are accorded to private schools belonging to Christians and to all other religions. There is not only encouragement, but actual stimulus and impulse applied to private enterprise in education. A full system of direction and inspection has been organized.

The education is afforded in all the principal languages of India, besides Persian and Arabic, as Asiatic tongues, and English as the vehicle of Western thought. It embraces literature, moral philosophy, and physical science. It imparts to the Indian youth a knowledge of those arts and sciences which have made Britain and Europe what they are.

Female education has been considerably advanced; there are now about 100,000 girls of all castes and tribes at school in the Empire. This is one of the achievements peculiar to our period. It is only in its initial stage at present; its progress is one of the events looming in the future.

The total number of scholars under State-aided or State-inspected education is 3½ millions. This number is considerable absolutely, but is not adequate relatively to the vast population. It might be much augmented if the State should adopt the system of compulsory attendance which prevails in Britain and in Europe.

Beyond some classic literature in Persian and Arabic as languages still living, and in Sanskrit as a dead language, there was before our period very little vernacular literature in India. But the needs of a generation largely educated in its own languages demanded the creation of a vernacular literature. Accordingly a new vernacular literature has been created, consisting of text-books for the class-rooms, and useful books for the young. Originality can hardly be claimed for these works generally, as they are often reproductions of Western books. But their utility is unquestionable, and their variety is equally great, for they are written in most of the eighteen vernacular languages of the Empire. They are composed in many hundreds, not only by native servants of the State, but also by independent native authors.

The wonderful progress of the post office within our period attests the influence of popular education. The total length of postal main lines covers 60,000 miles. The annual number of letters and packets now exceeds 220 millions, and has been doubling itself in every decade.

One important outcome of the national education has been the progress of the vernacular press. When this press sprang into existence after 1840 it enjoyed all the freedom which had in 1837 been accorded to the European press in India. Afterwards, in 1878, it was for a time placed under some restrictions by law. These have, however, been removed. Its political conduct has been severely criticized by European observers, with much truth certainly. On the other hand, its conduct has sometimes been signally good. It is apt to imitate the energy of expression which European organs use in controversy. But it sometimes fails to notice the limits which those organs patriotically observe in all that pertains to the common weal. There are, indeed, some dangers politically arising from it, still too much stress must not be laid upon its unmeasured language. It partakes of the characteristics of the men who have been mentally reformed by the Western education.

The highly-educated natives naturally aspire to rise in the public service, and to have an increased share in the administration of their country. The Government sympathetically recognizes this aspiration of theirs. But it must move gradually and cautiously in this direction, whereas they would wish to move faster. Hence some friction arises to cause an excess of complaint on their part. Those among them who reflect on the past will feel assured regarding the rapid advancement of their countrymen in the future. But the Western education, while it has succeeded in elevating their imagination, widening their vision, and giving them a facile command of expression, has not been equally successful in making them reflective soberly and accurately. All this should engage the attention of the Educational Department. We should be especially indulgent and forbearing towards these men; for they are peculiarly our own, and we have made them intellectually what they are. Our State education heretofore has been too exclusively literary and philosophic. It should be gradually modified in the direction of those pursuits which tend to strengthen the reason and lead towards the physical sciences. Instruction in physical science will have the further effect of opening out for these men new professions and additional avenues of employment. The overflow of educated youth into the intellectual labour market, the overstocking of the learned professions, must leave many men, who have issued from our colleges after brilliant examinations, to linger and languish without suitable employment.

It is important, further, to give to all natives of status that sound political education which comes from taking part in the affairs of their country. The policy is to appoint them as honorary magistrates and municipal commissioners, as members of local boards for districts, exactly on what is known as the theory of County Boards and School Boards in England. This participation in public affairs may be extended to masses of the people by intro-

ducing the electoral principle, as has been successfully done in the great capitals of Calcutta and Bombay, and some other places also. All local boards should largely consist of elected members. The day may come, too, when the native seats in the legislative councils shall be filled by popular election. As to the anxiety which is sometimes felt regarding the loyalty of educated natives, we cannot consent to leave the people without enlightenment in order to keep them loyal. But, having done our duty by them, we may be sure enough that men who have acquired their knowledge through our language and literature, and have been trained to mould their thoughts after our models, will in the long run be loyal to us.

Lastly, all that we do to raise the position of the natives, and to give them a living interest in the land of their birth, will be found quite consistent with the retention by the Government of the supreme and absolute control. But I must add that the satisfaction of the legitimate ambition of the natives is now the most difficult problem in British rule for India, and is likely to become harder and harder in future.

The tenth and last heading concerns the change in rites and customs, the dispensation of public charity, the religious missions.

The abolition of the strange rite of Sati and the suppression of Thagi were effected just before our period. But ceaseless vigilance has been needed and exercised during our period for the due enforcement of these measures. The extinction of female infanticide—if, indeed, that secret crime be really extinct—has received severe attention continuously. Of late years much consideration has been given to social reform by the natives, especially in respect to the custom of marriage during childhood, of the burdensome expenses on occasions of marriage, and to the condition of widows. But the institution of caste has not been materially affected within our period. Its religious sanction may have become weakened, perhaps, still its social efficacy remains.

The dispensation of public charity and the display of private munificence for the sake of the poor have always been regarded as duties and principles by the natives of India. Before our period something was done by the State in this direction; but the extent of such operations was limited. Within our period, however, there has been an extension reaching almost to every corner of the country. At all the medical colleges and schools mentioned under a former heading there are excellent hospitals. Further, at the headquarters of every district throughout the Empire, and even at the towns or principal villages within each district, charitable hospitals and dispensaries have been established. There are now more than a thousand of such institutions in beneficent operation, affording annually relief, outdoor and indoor, to several millions of suffering people. For these institutions aid is obtained from the Government, but support is also received from private sources, and in some instances the gifts from individual natives have been signally conspicuous. A noble scope is thus afforded to native surgeons, physicians, and practitioners educated in the medical science of the West.

These efforts on the part of the State—which really represent an outcome of practical Christianity—may fairly lead us to the consideration of the religious missions. Inasmuch as the State cannot propagate Christianity as its established religion, nor afford religious instruction, the work of the missions, as private enterprise exerted in the most sacred of causes, assumes a special significance.

Christian missions were, indeed, founded in several parts of India long before the beginning of our period. Many of the most illustrious founders belong to that earlier time. Those missions included evangelization, conversion, teaching of the young, translation of the Scriptures into several vernacular languages, and the composition of religious tracts. To this many-sided work was superadded the investigation of Indian faith, the discussion of Oriental philosophy, and lexicography. Thus the foundation was broadly laid, and

the structure was, so to speak, raised to some height above the ground. But it remained for our period to witness the addition of the superstructure. The disabilities and disadvantages, which used to impede conversion to Christianity, have been removed, so far as that is possible, by legislative enactment. Within the fifty years the work and the establishments of the Protestant missions of all denominations have so expanded that the sum-total when summarized would seem like the account of a great department in the State. There are now 3 missionary bishops, 430 mission stations, 500 ordained European missionaries, 300 native ordained clergy, 4,500 native assistants of various grades, 500,000 native Christians, 250,000 children at missionary schools. The increase generally has been at the rate of 50 per cent. within the last thirty years of our period, representing, say, one generation. The several Zenāna Missions have done much to diffuse light amidst the inner apartments of the native ladies, in conjunction with the efforts already mentioned under a previous heading, for the promotion of female education. The Christian Vernacular Education Society issues yearly tens of thousands of religious works for the young in the many languages of the Empire. These facts relate to the Protestant Missions. The Roman Catholic hierarchy and community have fully maintained the influential position which they have always held in India.

As this tenth heading is ended, I arrive at the conclusion of the whole summary.

I have thus summarized—under the ten headings set forth at the outset of this essay—not the history, but the results of British rule in India during the Jubilee period. In the preamble of the summary, remembrance was called to the fact that midway in the period the Government was transferred from the East India Company to the direct administration of the British Crown. But as the East India Company was under the control of the Crown, was supervised by a department of State in London, was supported by the

power of the British nation, the transfer from the Company to the Crown was in many respects nominal rather than real. Still, in its day the Company had the initiation generally, bore much of the responsibility, and possessed nearly the whole of the executive. The British Crown, Government and nation, may indeed claim a goodly share in the credit for the good effected in the Company's time. Still, the Company itself is entitled to much of the honour for the deeds done under its auspices, and for achievements which cause it to be counted as the greatest corporation that ever existed, and as a phenomenon unique in history. The recollection of this seems to be called for here, as the Company was abolished within our period.

Now, it is a noteworthy fact that most of the improvements affecting the condition of the people, which were set in motion during our period, were initiated under the East India Company, and were carried through some stages under its agency. This is true in respect of the additions to the Empire (with the exception of Burma), the surveys of the country, the centralization of imperial finance, the roads and railways, the electric telegraph, the canals of irrigation, the forest conservancy, the legislative machinery, the land settlements, the prison reforms, the national education, the universities and colleges, the primary schools. The sum total of these is to be reckoned as the loyal contribution of the East India Company to the achievements of our period.

On the other hand, many administrative changes have been made under the Crown alone, namely, the amalgamation of the Indian forces with those of the Crown, the abolition of the Indian navy, the rearrangement of the naval defence, the establishment of the new marine, the revised leave rules for the covenanted and uncovenanted services, the statutory civil service for the natives, the general augmentation of emoluments for native officials, the amalgamation of the old Supreme and Sadar courts into the High Courts, the production of financial budgets, the

introduction of the income-tax, the system of provincial finance, the State paper currency.

One important change, effected under the East India Company, was imposed upon the Company by the Government in England, namely, the throwing open of the entrance to the Covenanted Civil Service to public competition.

The European non-official community, consisting of the merchants and planters, the barristers and lawyers, the journalists, the tradesmen, grew steadily in the Company's time, but has grown faster still under the Crown. The freedom of the Press, secured just before our period, has conduced not only to the numerical increase of English newspapers, but to the progress of their status and influence. Though native traders have engaged more and more in the foreign commerce, still the European merchants hold their own. And though the development of the native Bar is one of the phenomena of our time, yet the European barristers fully maintain their position.

To strengthen the ties between the Indian people and the Crown, the Prince of Wales travelled through the Empire in 1875-6. The Duke of Edinburgh visited India in 1870. The Duke of Connaught holds the chief military command in the Bombay Presidency.

In this muster-roll of worthy deeds, of reforms and benefits, of steps in progress, the meed of public virtue may be claimed for the Government and its officers, and of loyal co-operation for the natives of India. The retrospect is that of movement ever onward. The events invariably are those of progression; while of retrogression there is not a single instance. With military and political victories have been mingled disasters and misfortunes. But usually the disaster has been repaired, without leaving permanent traces of evil behind it. Amidst the successes in every department of the national existence, there are indeed but too many errors and failures apparent; yet neither the errors nor the failures are irremediable, and, with the blessing of Providence, they will be remedied. More par-

ticularly are shortcomings perceptible, and there is much lee-way yet to be made up. But this only means that the shortcomings are to be rectified, and that a grand field yet lies open for future improvement. Again, together with the congratulations justly evoked by the happy events of our epoch, complaints have arisen, and charges of failure or mismanagement have been preferred with much insistence. Of these charges it may be said that not one has been brought fully home, or thoroughly proved; some have been distorted by exaggeration, and some have been refuted. Some of them have indirectly induced the Government to initiate additional improvements. I remember hearing Lord Mayo tell the University of Calcutta that the Government of India walks in the light. Further, it draws benefit from adverse criticism, though it is obliged to indicate the replies to which that criticism may fairly be liable. It usually finds the consequent discussion to be fertile in suggestions for improvement, and it adopts the principle, "*fas est et ab hoste doceri.*"

The sympathy of the United Kingdom may be claimed for the men who amidst countless toils and anxieties have sustained British energy in a heated and enervating climate. All who are spared to make a joyful retrospect of the fifty years will yet sorrowfully remember those who have left their heroic dust to mingle with the soil of India. Whatever faults may exist, or shortcomings remain, nevertheless, the Indian Empire has loyally contributed much to the achievements of the Jubilee and the triumphs of the Victorian era.

RICHARD TEMPLE.

CENTRAL ASIAN POLITICS.

IN reviewing the political events in Central Asia during the last two years, since I published my little book, "The Coming Struggle for India," I cannot prevent myself from observing that, as far as regards its main features, this question has turned decidedly for the better. As an old grumbler, and as the "chief alarmist," as the late Lord Strangford used to call me, I must say, however, that this improvement does not refer to the military or political standing of both contending rivals on the field of Central Asian politics, but rather to the spirit and nature in which this highly important question is discussed now as compared with former times. Before all, I beg leave to point to the increasing interest shown in England, where twenty years ago the very mention of Bokhara, Turcomans, Afghans, &c., provoked general disgust, if not a shudder, and where every allusion to an approaching conflict or danger was ridiculed by statesmen, as well as by the daily press. The radical change shown in this respect is, of course, the result of the change in the arena of political events. All nations, but particularly the English, are more influenced by the consequences of facts than by theoretical speculations, and we should not wonder if one mile of Russian progress towards the South had more effect upon their minds than a hundred pages full of warnings and dire prophecies. Not the grumblers and alarmists, but Russia herself has roused the apathy and stupor of English optimists; and if I am favoured to-day by invitations to lecture in various parts of Great Britain, and to contribute to papers of all political shades and parties, I have to thank for it only my Russian friends. But, strange to say, it is not only in the United

Kingdom, but all over the continent of Europe, that we notice an increasing interest in the rivalry between Russia and England in the interior of Asia, an interest which has greatly contributed towards the formation of sounder views and of a more impartial criticism. Excepting France and the political world fostered by Panslavistic dreams, we find that the European, and to a certain extent also the American world, whilst viewing this question from a purely humanitarian point of view, is decidedly siding with England; and whilst Mr. Benjamin, the late American ambassador at the court of the Shah of Persia, does not hesitate to show declared and open sympathies with England, we frequently meet with such enunciations in the daily and periodical press of Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary, &c., as leave no doubt that the collapse of England's power and influence in Asia is looked upon by the majority of Europeans and Americans as the greatest calamity which could befall the Western civilization of the nineteenth century.

The second sign of amelioration, I see, is the striking clearness the situation has gained during the last two years. Formerly, Russian diplomacy and even the Russian press were indefatigable in their exertions to convince the world of the strictly civilizing and humanitarian character of the policy pursued by the Court of St. Petersburg in the savage and atrociously barbarian regions of Central Asia; and so great was the success of this false pretence, that, not only the declared enemies of England, but even Englishmen themselves, became a prey of this mystification, and furthered the cause of the deadly enemy of their nation by their laudatory speeches and papers spoken and written on behalf of civilizing, ennobling, glorious Russia! Well, this shameful comedy has happily come to an end. Russia no longer conceals her ends and aspirations, and, like a cardsharp who has carried successfully his tricks, she lays the cards on the table, and begins to use a rude sincerity and frankness as to the ultimate scope of her policy. We are told by the Russian

press, and from time to time also by leading Russian statesmen, that the trade and industry of the Empire of the Czars must have an outlet in the Southern Seas, and that fetters laid on her economical life by the ice-bound harbours must be broken. - Russia cannot suffer any longer to be indebted to the goodwill of her neighbours for an access to the Southern Seas, and she will acquire at every cost and risk an open communication, either to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, or to the Indian Sea through Eastern Persia. As to her schemes on India, we are favoured by the candid confession that the campaign *a la Timur*, alluded to by the late General Skobelev, has only the meaning of a bugbear for the present, but that the real aim of Russia is to break England's opposition on the Balkan Peninsula by threatening and endangering her position on the Indus, and by getting thus rid of the most formidable rival in the policy pursued on the Bosphorus. It is this sense which manifested itself quite recently in a leading Russian journal, in its comments on an eventual understanding as to the mutual relations of both Powers to Afghanistan, by saying: "*An Anglo-Russian arrangement with regard to Afghanistan cannot be spoken of until the Cabinet of St. James's has ceased to oppose our policy in Bulgaria.*" Similar enunciations are to be met with in other, even semi-official, organs, and the connection between Constantinople and Hindostan, which MacNeil was the first to point out, is now laid bare with a frankness we have not hitherto been accustomed to expect on the part of Russia.

Such are, as the reader will notice, the advantageous changes which have taken place in the general character of the Central Asian question. In turning now to the position of both contending rivals, I am sorry to remark that Russia has gained a decided advantage over England, through the material as well as moral value of the acquisitions made during the last two years, which almost outweigh the benefits obtained through her previous successes on the right bank of the Oxus. Without entering

into a detailed comparison of the said advantages, it may suffice to mention that the conquest of the Khanates was but a harmless prelude to the serious tragedy on the steppes of the Turcomans, and that the acquisition of the three Khanates was but a lateral movement to cover and to secure the main action in the north of Persia and on the outskirts of the Paropamisus. Not Samarkand and Bokhara, but Herat and Meshed were and are the main objects in view, for whilst the former may prove useful in future from an economical point of view, the latter place can be utilized even in the present for far-reaching political and strategical purposes; and the fact that Russia hastened to connect the Transcaspian district, and not the Yaxartes valley, by a railway with the interior of the empire, is the most eloquent proof of our assertion. The rumoured intention of extending the new railroad from Samarkand to Tashkend, and to bring it on at a later period to the main line of South Siberia, is only a pretext intended to allay England's apprehensions, if such ever existed; and nothing proves better the predominantly military purpose of the newly constructed line than the complaint of Russian merchants, published in the St. Petersburg papers, in which, amongst others, one writer says that 100,000 puds of wool, coming from Bokhara, were left for weeks at Uzun-Ada on the Caspian, whilst sundry military requisites were at once shipped from Baku to Uzun-Ada. This new railway, in spite of its being traduced by obstinate optimists, will furnish the best weapon in an eventual war against England; and the anxiety with which this new road is guarded against foreign visitors, is an unmistakable proof of Russia's secret intentions. Excepting one or two Frenchmen, who were allowed to travel, without permission to leave their compartment, from Baku to Merv, no European had ever an opportunity to visit the new line. Transcaspia is closed hermetically as before, and all we know about the military strength of Russia at Askabad, Merv, Sarakhs, and Zulfikar is merely guesswork.

In a similar mystery have been shrouded the political events in Bokhara, and the changes which have taken place there, since the death of the late Emir Mozaffar-ed-din Khan. There is no doubt that the demise of this prince was a welcome accident to Russia, whose pledged word weighed heavily on the shoulders of the restless military party at Tashkend, considering that the late Emir, in remembrance of his former independence, too frequently manifested a desire to oppose the demands of the Yarim-Padishah, viz., the half emperor, as the Governor-General is styled by the natives, and that Russia greatly exerted herself to avoid an open breach of promise. With the death of the late Emir, Russia became the undisputed mistress of the situation; she could have annexed at once the whole Khanate of Bokhara, but circumstances commanded moderation, and she only took care that the successor to the throne should be a prince amenable to her desires. This was found in the person of Abdul Ahad Khan, the third son of Mozaffar-ed-din, a weak-minded youngster of about twenty-three years, who, having been the pet of his father, bore the title *Tore-djan*, i.e., "darling prince," and whose pale face and feminine features were in strict harmony with his submissive, feeble, and undecided character. Of course there was no lack of other pretenders, for the Emir had left nearly a dozen sons; but Russia gave it clearly to be understood that she would not suffer any disturbances, and no sooner had the next elder brother of Abdul Ahad shown signs of resistance than he was at once declared insane and imprisoned, first at Hissar and afterwards at Baisun, where he is now awaiting either death or the assistant hand of his brother Abdul Melik, the legitimate heir and successor, actually living at Belkh. The new ruler of the banks of the Zerefshan, a mere puppet in the hands of M. Tcharikoff, the Russian political agent in Bokhara, cannot boast, however, of a brilliant future, for, disliked and disobeyed by his subjects, he will be tolerated by Russia only as long as an open rebellion

against his pseudo-rule does not compel the Cossacks to interfere; and should the discontent and fanaticism of the Bokhara people, fostered by the still influential mollahs, create the slightest disorder, he will at once disappear from the scene, and the list of Bokharan Emirs will be closed for ever.

It is with a view to such an emergency, and in connection with Russia's next steps to the South, that the decision has been taken at St. Petersburg to transfer the military government of Turkestan from Tashkend to Samarkand, whereas the centre of the civil administration is to remain in its former place. Samarkand lies two hundred and sixty versts further to the south, and is only about two hundred versts distant from the Afghan frontier; and the reasons which have induced Russia to use the ancient capital of Timur as her military centre are not to be sought in the necessity of protecting the newly constructed Transcaspian railway, as Russian papers are anxious to make us believe, but in her future schemes on the left bank of the Oxus, and in the ill-concealed intention of extending the Russian frontier to the foot of the Hindukush. Only those who forcibly shut their eyes will fail to see that the Russian Government, having duly finished and rounded off its conquests in the three Khanates, is now devoting all its attention and energies to the left bank of the Oxus; and no treaties, stipulations, or arrangements will be able to check Russia's progress until she has reached the Hindukush, and not before she has succeeded in swallowing half, *i.e.*, the northern portion of Afghanistan. Unmistakable proofs of this policy were given in the persistent machinations carried on by the Russian outpost at Maruchak, and on the Herirud, where the Djemshidis have been drawn within the ominous circle of Muscovite influence, and where even the leading inhabitants of Herat have been gained over to such an extent that the sympathies shown to the British Delimitation Commission during the time of Sir Peter Lumsden have

lost much of their former warmth. It was owing to the consequences of these nefarious Russian doings that the Emir Abdurrahman Khan had to take precautionary measures in Herat, and that he was compelled to transfer a portion of the Djemshidis on the Khushk to the interior by replacing them with Ghilzai settlers. Russian emissaries of Tadjik, Uzbek, and Caucasian extraction, provided with necessary funds, are travelling freely in all directions of Afghanistan, and the feeling of vengeance evoked by the slaughter of several hundred Afghans on the Khushk is either dying out, or has been soothed by the alluring promises given and by fascinating descriptions made of the clemency, power, and wealth of the mighty Czar.

The policy of interference so successfully inaugurated on the north-western outskirts of the Paropamisus is to be pursued with an unabating spirit of persistency along the whole frontier line, which is to divide North Afghanistan from the possessions of Russia on the left bank of the Oxus. I am not in the position of discussing the details of the differences connected with the delimitation of the frontier from Maruchak to Dukchi (*rectius* Takhtehe—a shelf), but I cannot refrain from remarking that Russia, in successfully extending her frontier from the dreary sands of the Turcoman desert to the cultivable portion of Maimene and Andkhoy, has decidedly carried her point, and that here again, as in Pendjeh, she has worsted her British rival. Through the deviation made from Maruchak towards that fertile valley, where I rode knee-deep through grass in the beginning of September—a country which was styled a paradise if the Turcoman plague did not exist—Russia has become the master of the main route leading from Kerki to the Murghab, and has now gained a firm footing on that district, which from the time of Djenghiz Khan has always formed the chief connecting link between Turkestan and India, and which, owing to this importance, was peopled with warlike Turkish inhabitants by the said Mongol conqueror. Firmly resolved to follow in the

footprints of the army of Djenghiz, the Russian military authorities cling also to the remaining portions of that highway which has brought down the swarms of Tartar warriors to the rich plains of Hindostan. It is from this point of view that their obstinacy in the so-called Khodja Salih question is easily explained. It must be borne in mind that the ferry of Kilif has been always looked upon as the best for the very reason that the river is here, according to the reliable information of Bikoff, only two hundred and fifteen sazhen broad, whilst further up, at Tchushka-Guzar, Kara-Kamar, and Shirab, it measures from six hundred to eight hundred sazhen. Owing to the narrowness of bed, the current at Kilif is one of the swiftest, running eight versts the hour, and whilst the passage near Kerki takes at least from six to eight hours, it can be effected at Kilif in less than one hour. The only drawback to the ferry near Kilif is the pooriness of the place itself, which consists of one hundred and fifty miserable huts, encumbered with moving sands of the neighbourhood; and Kilif cannot be utilized unless the small strip of fertile country, extending on the left bank from the steppes of the Alielis to the river, could be transformed into a station for a crossing army or for caravans. Apart from the geographical importance of the district of Khodja Salih, in its quality of a place best suited for a military cantonment on the left bank of the Oxus, there is also a serious ethnographical motive, which induces the Russians to persist in their claim about the Kham-i-Ab district. It is sufficiently known, and I pointed it out seven years ago, that the great majority of the inhabitants of Northern Afghanistan are of Turkish origin, consisting partly of Turcomans of the Ersari and Alieli tribes, leading here a nomadic life for many centuries, partly of Uzbeks belonging to the Achmayli, Ming, Daz, Kiptchak, Kungrat, and Kangli tribes, settled on the left bank of the Oxus by the successors of Djenghiz, by Timur, and by Sheibani Khan, as a kind of vanguard against the Afghans. Old as the enmity

is between the two races, it has become the more fierce and exasperated during the present century in consequence of the iron rule of the Cabul authorities, and we must not wonder at all that the feeling of bitter hatred has prompted the Turks as well as the Tadjiks to hail with joy the approaching Russian influence. The black infidelity of the Muscovite conqueror, they argued, cannot be so cruel and oppressive as the yoke of the rapacious Afghans; and judging from the comparatively quiet and undisturbed life their brethren enjoy in the country subjected to the rule of the White Padishah, they very naturally a long time ago looked upon Russian conquest without any lively feelings of alarm. This state of things, created chiefly by Russian emissaries, is well known, and has been continually exploited by the politicians on the Neva, where favourable opportunities are but rarely lost, and where it has now become a leading principle that the increase of Russian influence amongst the Turks and Tadjiks of Northern Afghanistan is unavoidably necessary, and that the said anti-Afghan population will afford the best means for the conquest of the northern half of the Afghan country.

Having exposed briefly the advantageous position of Russia in Cis as well as in Transoxiana, the reader may well ask himself: What can be the use of the costly Afghan Boundary Commission, and what will be the profit of England in these wearisome and lengthy transactions? Taking matters as they are, I believe it has never come in the mind of an English statesman that the erection of a frontier pole will prove a guarantee against future Russian encroachment, or that a coloured line drawn on the map of Afghanistan will serve as a perpetual barrier to Russian ambition. Frontier delimitations and treaties, of a very dubious value in Europe, are entirely worthless in Asia, particularly if the signature contains a name ending in the ominous *eff*. For the honour and prestige of Great Britain it would have been much better not to raise this question at all; but now that the error has been committed, we may console ourselves

with the fact that the only palpable practical result will be found in the thorough investigation of the said portions of Central Asia; carried on by zealous, competent, and learned English officers of the civil and military branches, in whose labours the lion-share may well fall to Geography, Ethnography, Geology, Archæology, &c., but whose researches will at the same time throw a considerable light on the political situation by affording to the Government the best means to form a decided line of policy about Afghanistan and about the defence of India in general. The thick veil which has hitherto covered many regions in the West, the North, and in the East of the Afghan country having fallen from our eyes, darkness or want of reliable information cannot be used henceforward as an excuse for the indecision and wavering which have of late characterized the policy of Great Britain in Central Asia, the consequences of which must be the much more disastrous, as the antagonist excels on the other hand by his eminently firm, resolute, and unswerving action. During the last two years, Russia has not only shown signs of unflinching activity in Afghanistan, but she has bestowed a similar care also upon the limitroph countries of the dominions of Abdurrahman Khan; and in measuring the corresponding activity of Great Britain, we must recollect that one English stride is outweighed by five more significant and better aimed strokes of Russia.

To begin with Badakshan and the petty Khanates in the East of Afghanistan, it is no secret any more, that to the one mission of Colonel Lockhart, sent by the Indian Government, corresponds a whole series of Russian surveying, geologizing, botanizing, &c., parties, who uninterruptedly moving about in all directions of the Pamir, and penetrating as far as into the hitherto hidden little corner called Kunjit (Hunza), have succeeded to investigate all possible roads, ways, and thoroughfares leading from Kho-kand to Kashmir, and in diffusing all imaginable tales about the power, justice, and wealth of the Ak Padishah on the Neva. Even whilst I am writing these lines, M. Grum-

Grshimaylo, a so-called geographical explorer, is travelling on the Pamir; and without discussing here the greater or less practicability of the routes and passes leading from Sari Kul across the Tagdunbash to the South, we may well assert that Russia has successfully spied out all means of communication in this outlying district, and that she is ready to cause a surprise, if there is any possibility at all to do so. Even further to the East, namely, in Eastern Turkestan, the terrain has been duly worked and prepared for all emergencies, in spite of the pretended cool relations existing between China and Russia. The neutral observer of the political events which have passed of late between China and Russia on one hand, and between China and England on the other, must be struck by the essential prerogatives accorded to the Government at St. Petersburg, in the country of Six Towns, by the Tsungli Yamen at Peking; whilst England, the so-called friend and ally of China, is constantly refused a just competition with her Northern rival on the markets of Yarkend and Kashgar. The riddle why M. Petrowsky, the Russian Consul at Kashgar, succeeded in driving out Mr. Dalglish from Kashgar, needs much more an explanation, when we consider that the Viceroy of India did not hesitate to sacrifice to the good understanding with China even the important mission of Mr. Macaulay to Tibet, a mission promising so much from a commercial point of view, and which is now being tried by the enterprising Russian house of Konshin. Not being sufficiently informed, I would not like to come forward with accusations or imputations, but there is decidedly something wrong in England's policy in Eastern Turkestan, for it is only a needless precaution and want of firmness which can have prevented the appointment of English consuls at Kashgar, Yarkend, and Aksu; and I call it an unpardonable mistake to have neglected to put British influence in Kashgar at least on a par with that of Russia. The experiment tried with Mr. Ney Elias in 1885 ought not to have frightened the Viceroy's advisers; and if England

would imitate the tenacity manifested by Russia, the continual complaint of the falling off of the trade, and of loss of political ground beyond the Kuen-Luen, would soon disappear.

Turning from the extreme east to the west of Afghanistan, namely to Persia, a still more afflicting view is offered to the spectator in comparing the feverish activity of Russia with the timid, effete, and unworthy policy pursued by England in Iran. It is more than a quarter of a century since all kind of blame and invectives were first thrown upon this suicidal policy, and if British statesmen nevertheless insist with a rare tenacity, worthy a better purpose, on the continuance of their disastrous demeanour, it shows that they are intentionally blind to the fact that the motives which provoked years ago, and to a certain extent also justified the change of policy inaugurated with the mission of Malcolm at Teheran, have now entirely ceased to exist. Persia, which has enjoyed for two years the not very enviable advantage of a Russian neighbourhood along the whole northern and north-eastern frontier, actually views matters in a quite different light from before, and giving up the hyperwise policy of continually intriguing with the two leading Powers interested in her fate, she has been thoroughly taught as to the imminent dangers in store for her from a predominating Russian influence. Judging from the outward behaviour of the Shah and his chief ministers, this assumption may be found invalid, and may be well doubted; but in examining closely the current matters, we cannot fail to observe that the Persian ogling with St. Petersburg and with London, far from being spontaneous, is mostly, nay exclusively, owing to the coldness and indifference experienced from the part of England. In fact, the adroitness and cleverness with which the rôles in this unwilling, doublesided play have been distributed between, and are carried on by, Nasreddin Shah and his chief advisers, cannot be sufficiently admired.

His Majesty the Shahinshah, certainly more thoughtful

and cautious than generally believed, represents the perfect personification of neutrality; he is steadily buttoned up to the neck, and the smiles he shows, the compliments he pays, and the salutations he gives to the ambassadors of England and Russia, are scrupulously measured to a hair's breadth. Orientals have always excelled in the art of dissimulation, and his Persian Majesty is undoubtedly a great master in it; but I am told on good authority that in the inmost secret of his heart English sympathies are predominating, and that his apparent leaning to Russia is only the outcome of the seriously threatening attitude of the Northern Colossus. The Shah evidently acts in accordance with the Oriental proverb, "You must kiss the hand you cannot cut off, and put it submissively on your head." His sons, the royal princes, are, on the contrary, the bearers of outspoken party-colours and party-signs. Whilst Mozaffar-ed-din Mirza, the heir-apparent and second son of the Shah, is ostensibly parading his Russian sympathies from his governor seat in Tabriz, we find in Zill-es-Sultan Mirza, his second and undoubtedly most capable son, a zealous and staunch admirer of Germany and England. This prince, actually at the head of affairs in Isfahan, is life and soul a soldier, and such is the fancy he took for the Prussian uniform, that he adopted the famous Pickelhaube (helmet) for a nightcap. As a contrast to these two royal offsprings, the third son, Kamran Mirza, pleases himself to show neutrality. A similar distribution is to be noticed amongst the various ministers. If the Minister of War be accidentally noted for his Russian sympathies, then the Minister of the Interior will be certainly a man of outspoken English feelings, and whilst the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, namely the Mukhbied-Dowlet, became conspicuous by his excellent relations with the British Embassy of Teheran, he has been replaced by Yahya Khan, a partisan of Russia; an appointment with regard to which Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, lately minister of the United States to Persia, remarks that England has been almost naming

What the line of the sketched development of Persia in her future looks at combining both Persian and English interests is what we have to ask. What would be the nature of England's policy and action in supporting the cause of Persia, and would it not be decisive in transforming the Shah at once into a safe and valuable ally to England? I dare say everybody thoroughly conversant with the present political conditions of Persia will agree in our saying that England cannot remain henceforward indifferent to Russia's plans and doings in the country between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf, and that it is the highest time for her to save the present king and his country from the difficult task of a constant tacking, through her coming forward with outspoken proofs of protection and amity. Not Afghanistan, but Persia, ought to have been styled the earthen pot between two brazen vessels, and as such it commanded, if not greater, then certainly an equal care and consideration on the part of English statesmen.

In this respect Russia has greatly distanced her rival. What must strike us before all, is the planned and partly carried out net of roads, by which Russia is almost sure to extend her trade over more than the half of the Persian territory, where, regarding certain articles, she has already baffled all competition, and has particularly injured the commercial interest of England. In 1885, General Rohrberg commenced the construction of a carriage-road from Gok-Tepe to the frontier of Persia, which was soon afterwards superseded by a *chaussée* from Ashkabad to Budjurd and Kutchan, executed by the Russian civil engineer, M. N. Tolstogo, and by General Gasteiger Khan on the part of Persia. To this will be joined a steam railway, projected by a merchant, named M. S. Nikolayeff, of about two hundred and thirty versts to Meshed, connecting this important of the Khorasan trade with the interior of Persia, affording at the same time the opportunity to make use of this route for military transport, if the necessity should arise. Owing to the close

neighbourhood on the Herirud and on the northern slopes of the Kūbbet mountains, the whole north-east of Persia is nearly in the hands of Russian merchants ; and considering the much-discussed schemes of railway communication between Tiflis and Tebriz, as well as the projected great line from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, the concession of which is to be secured for a Russian company by the exertions of the newly appointed ambassador, Prince Dolgoruki, we may well say that the Government of St. Petersburg is in the best way of establishing its influence over all Iran.

Disregarding the material losses sustained by Great Britain in the commercial ascendancy of Russia in the Persian market, we may well ask : Will and can England permit her rival to approach the Persian Gulf, and is there anybody who would combat the assertion that *Russia with a footing in the Indian Seas is far more dangerous than Russia knocking at the gate of India?* Of course, in our pleading for an active English policy in Persia, we are sure to meet the objections so frequently made against the untrustworthiness of the Iranians in general, and against the wretched condition of their country. I am sorry to say here again it is the want of due consideration of the recent changes, tending towards progress, by which politicians are misled. Persia, in spite of her suffering from the evils of a despotic and unscrupulous government, differs widely from Turkey as far as regards industry, trade, and spirit of enterprise. Her eight or nine millions of inhabitants, by majority of Arian extraction, have a more promising prospect for the future ; Persia is not in the clutches of our money markets, her export is not inferior to her import, and if sincerely supported, she may prove an ally quite worth the care bestowed upon her, and particularly indispensable for the ruler of Hindostan.

In discussing the actual state of the Central Asian question, we might as well have thrown a cursory glance upon the relations of Great Britain to Turkey, and particularly upon the unfortunate controversy about Egypt, where an over-

zealous party, misled by the then ruling fashion of African conquests, have initiated a policy of a rather dubious issue for the safety of India. But it would not do to extend too far the limits of this essay, and in summing up my preceding remarks, I shall conclude by saying, that the Conservative Ministry, in taking over the not very enviable inheritance from their Liberal colleagues, have proved exceedingly cautious in their continuation of the policy inaugurated by the late Lord Beaconsfield. In modifying to a certain extent the original scheme of the Scientific Frontier, they have pretty well succeeded in purging themselves of the charge of *Jingoism*, and their excessive moderation must have allayed the apprehensions of their political opponents. It remains to be seen, and I greatly doubt, whether such a demeanour has really furthered the ends in view; but what I intend to point to is, that this policy of a timid and ultra-cautious action has unquestionably reached its extreme limits, and that every step, nay every line, advanced on the path of indifference and concession must prove fatal to British interests in Asia, as well as in Europe.

With regard to the future constellations on the Central Asian field of contest, it cannot be too much regretted, that the rumour of England having adopted the Hilmund as her future line of defence against the encroachments of Russia, and that Herat together with the fertile camping-ground in the south has been tacitly given up—has spread too far and found credit with Persians, Afghans, and Turks. Putting aside the strategical part of this question, and disregarding the feasibility of measuring swords with an enemy in close proximity of the object he is so anxious to grasp at, we ought not to forget that England's compli^{ance} and condescension to Russia's aggressive policy, witnessed by the present and past generation of the Mohammedan world, has certainly not heightened the reputation, and has by no means thrown a favourable light upon the moral and material strength, of Great Britain. A power which has been seen

receding step after step before the advancing columns of her rival, cannot be relied upon, and cannot be taken as a safeguard against the threatening danger. Abderrahman Khan, or any other prince subsidized by English money, may for a while remain faithful to the obligations contracted, but the confidence of the Afghan nation at large must be shaken; and this want of reliance, whilst serving revolutionary purposes against the authority of the British *protégé* at Kabul, may prove fatal at a time when the Afghans might have to choose between England and Russia.

As to the great injury England's prestige has to suffer in Europe from this policy of excessive indulgence to Russia, it suffices to register the utterances put forward in the leading Continental papers with regard to the Central Asian controversy. In so doing, I do not consider the badly informed and openly inimical French press, but I lay a particular stress upon Germany, Italy, and Austro-Hungary, where the public opinion, after having long shown an utter indifference, has now come to the conclusion that England, unable to withstand the attack of her rival, has acted wisely in renouncing once for ever the theory of a buffer and in fixing the future battle-ground in close proximity to the Indian frontier. The speculations of these otherwise benevolent writers is based upon the following rather curious arguments. They say, amongst other things, that England, having been ultimately convinced of the impossibility of erecting a solid barrier in the barren mountains of the Afghan country, is now firmly resolved to await her antagonist on the frontier of India, and that she flatters herself with the hope that Afghanistan proving an uncommonly hard nut to crack for ambitious Russia, she will have plenty of time, at least many years to come, to put the Indian frontier in a solid state of defence, and to strengthen her position also in the interior of Hindostan. Other writers, again, fall back upon the known phrase of optimists in saying: Asia is large enough for the two contending parties, and there is a well-founded hope, that

the Afghan spoil will be peacefully divided between both. Taken all together, the leading Continental papers are nearly unanimous in their assumption that England, unable to cope with Russia in Asia, has been, so to say, compelled to enter the path of moderation, and that she will have in future always to yield to the ascendancy of the Northern Colossus. Finding it, as I do, quite superfluous to show to the English reader the utter fallacy of these speculations, it cannot be, however, sufficiently regretted that these and other similar views have found their way into the Continental press, and that England is looked upon as a power which, having reached its climax, is now doomed, by the unchangeable law of nature, to decline and to give way to her ascending rival.

Fully admitting, therefore, the gravity of the situation, and agreeing with what Lord Rosebery said in a speech at the St. Andrew's Dinner in Bombay, that it is far more difficult to retain than to found colonies—I do not view the situation as so desperate and black as generally painted. There is, before all, a great relief in the fact that England begins to be awake as to the high importance of her imperial policy in India, and that the number of those who pool-pooled and ridiculed the dangers arising from the advance of Russia has greatly diminished of late. The fashion adopted quite recently by statesmen, members of Parliament, &c., to pay a flying visit to India, will unavoidably contribute towards lessening the ignorance of the large middle-class in all Indian and Asiatic concerns; and the decrease of this afflicting error will and must necessarily enhance the national interest in the preservation of the glorious acquisition made by heroes of the past in the East. And, further, it ought not to be ignored that the Central Asian question is rapidly assuming an European significance. The opinion expressed by Prince Bismarck a few years ago to M. Braun-Wiesbaden, saying, "*Russia's aggressive policy towards India must be hailed by Germany and by Europe in general, considering that the deeper she*

gets into Asia, the weaker she will get in Europe"—will scarcely prove valid under the present political conditions. To-day we see French travellers (MM. Capus and Bonvalot) engaged in representing this semi-Asiatic Power in the eyes of Europe as a great benefactor of mankind; whilst, on the other hand, Professor Jlovaisky, of the Moscow University, strongly advises England, in the *Novoye Vremya*, to connive at Russia's designs in Bulgaria, and to join the Franco-Russian alliance in order to get rid of her Central Asian troubles. The connecting link between the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia, and the continually pressing Oriental question on the Bosphorus, will henceforward become more and more visible, and the Central European Powers, whether it pleases them or not, will have to pay a particular attention to what is going on on the Oxus, on the Herirud, and on the Hilmund. England's cause is, therefore, inseparable from that of Central Europe, unless she chooses to follow the advice of Professor Jlovaisky—a step from which I dare say even the most foolish optimist in the United Kingdom would shrink, considering that Russian friendship means only an ominous respite, whereas the Central European alliance must prove a solid support.

As matters stand to-day, I may safely assert that General Boulanger, M. Katkoff, the Bulgarian Regency, Eyub Khan, and the son of Mushki Alem (the Musk of the World), are almost equally important factors in the policy of Central Asia. In spite of the failure of the Frontier Delimitation Commission, and despite all secret and open machinations of Russia in Afghanistan as well as in Persia, the issue of this great struggle between the rival Powers in the interior of Asia does not rest exclusively in the hands of the Court of St. Petersburg; it must unavoidably react upon European politics, and in this reaction I find the best guarantee against the insolent bearing and aggressive expansion of the Northern Colossus.

A. VAMBERY,

A CHINESE JUBILEE.

A LONG reign, especially if it has been prosperous, and the grey hairs of a sovereign if they are crowned with glory, are outward and visible signs of a country's well-being and of the monarch's virtue which in all climes and in all ages have appealed to the sentiment and the enthusiasm of subjects. From the days of Solomon downwards a long reign has always been regarded as a special token of heaven's favour, and in countries where the lives of rulers are not so securely hedged in by law and order as in European lands, it is also to be accepted as a sign of the people's good-will. Judged by this standard the light of heaven has shone conspicuously on the Manchu rulers of China, for since their accession to power in 1644 two have each reigned through the full course of a sexagenary cycle. The first, K'ang-hi, held the imperial sceptre from 1662 to 1723, and again was the same good fortune allotted to him in whose honour just ninety-seven years ago the sluggish blood of Chinamen was stirred by a loyal enthusiasm almost as deep, and certainly as demonstrative, as that which is now agitating the hearts of Englishmen. For in that year, 1790, the Emperor Khienlung ("The Firm and Glorious One") celebrated the fifty-fifth anniversary of his reign and the eightieth of his age. Like his junior contemporary, George III., he reigned in all sixty years, but since his sixtieth anniversary as monarch was clouded by his retirement from the throne it was not a subject of such unmixed rejoicing as when at the conclusion of the eighth decade of his age he still held the reins of power with a hale and vigorous grasp. It was then therefore that his usually undemonstrative subjects broke into a white heat of enthu-

siastic loyalty, and from north to south, and from east to west—from Peking to Canton, and from Shanghai to Yunnan Fu—held high revel, and showered their congratulations on their octogenarian sovereign.

It was at the Court, however, that the rejoicings found most expressive utterance, and fortunately the *cacoethes scribendi*, which belongs so pre-eminently to Chinese courtiers, has preserved to us a minute record of all the ceremonies and gala doings which turned the dirty and prosaic streets of Peking into panoramic scenes of gaiety and splendour. In a country where the contents of an encyclopædia fill upwards of five thousand volumes it need not surprise us to find that the details of the rejoicings of 1790 are not to be compressed into fewer than twenty folio tomes. Without imitating the diffuse style of this wordy record it will be competent for us to dig some of the gold out of the vast mine, and by fusing it in a more convenient crucible to turn out some coins which may pass current.

"The song begins from Jove," for no other god, and in some respects not even Jove himself can be mentioned in the same breath with the incomparable Khienlung, who, as emperor, man, and poet, stood unsurpassed in the eyes of his subjects in the year of grace 1790. "A dragon's fiery form belied the god," indicative of sovereignty and power; and in his matchless verses were held to be displayed the scholar's mind, the artist's eye, and the nervous imagination of the poet. From his earliest years, we are told, he had been accustomed to handle the pen, and from his recorded poems, which fill the first place in the chronicle, we take the following as a specimen of his style. The ode which is called "Regrets on being called Old" was written when he was upwards of seventy years of age :

"Time was when I fear'd to be old,
And thought it meant pain and disgrace,
And despair'd of the hopeless attempt
To keep youth impress'd on my face.

But ~~now~~ I confess that I'm old,
And fear not to make the admission,
Though to say I'm glad would be vain,
And yield me a prey to derision.

Only six of the Emperors past
Have liv'd to be threescore and ten,
Yet for thirty-six years I've sat
On the throne as a ruler of men.

*
My officers make frequent tours
In chariots rapid and light,
And few ever venture to fail
In the struggle for justice and right.

By the beams of celestial rays,
And by laws full of wisdom divine,
They pierce the thick darkness of wrong
With a wisdom that's equal to mine."

Countless pages are filled with poems such as this, and if any carping critic should write the matter down as commonplace and the manner as too conventional, he should allow it to be said on the other side that what Khienlung lacked in quality he made up in quantity. He was probably one of the most prolific poets ever known to history, and if his collected works were weighed in the scales against those of any other bard his would certainly not be the volumes which would kick the beam. But as in the works of all busy writers his efforts were very unequal. Some have been extolled as containing true poetry, and one, his "Eulogy on the City of Moukden," has twice been thought worthy to be translated into French, once by Père Amyot and again by Klaproth. Speaking generally, however, Chinamen are deficient in imagination, and their best poems are but laboured compositions in which though striking ideas and happy imagery are occasionally to be found, the general effect is marred by an inflated phraseology and a mechanical style. This is eminently the case with Khienlung's productions, and it was probably in deference to the very high opinion which the imperial bard had of his own poems that the Court historian has given us so many of them. Aristotle says in his *Ethics* that "all men are par-

ticularly fond of what they themselves have made. As," adds the philosopher, "we see in parents and poets." To this rule Khienlung was no exception, but as we do not share the aged monarch's estimate of his verse we will turn from the mazes to which his muse would lead us to the contemplation of his moral qualities, notably his reverence, which was, as we are told by the historian, meet to be an example for all future ages. With admiring zeal the chronicler dwells on the religious devotion which induced His Imperial Majesty even at the age of eighty personally to offer sacrifices to the gods of the land and grain instead of deputing his ministers to play his part as so many of his predecessors had done. At the temple of his sacred ancestors he performed *in propria persona* the recognized devotions, and even journeyed into the province of Shantung to worship at the shrine of Confucius. And lest the Powers of the waters should consider themselves neglected by these observances the imperial devotee paid his respects to the Chinese Neptune at the temple of that deity at Tientsin and adored at the shrine of the dragon king of the waters.

By an easy transition his subjects were next bidden to contemplate his filial piety, which was "as deep as the sea and as high as the mountains." With unwearied assiduity he worshipped at his ancestral tombs; and, with a dutiful anxiety to perpetuate the virtues of his forefathers, he ordained that the tablets which recorded their great and lofty qualities should be re-cut and restored. No doubt the Changs and Les of his empire would have liked to have peered into the private life of their sovereign, and to have seen how he exercised this virtue towards his parents while living. But such inquiries into matters which were too high for them are ignored, and his public life is all that they are permitted to gaze upon. His edicts, however, must have made up, by the depth of their filial tone, for the absence of recorded acts. In every line are expressed his utmost reverence for those belonging to him who had gone before,

and a filial humility which appeared to clothe him as with a garment.

In as devout, but in more stirring tones, attention is next claimed for his ceaseless diligence. By a survival from a time when the Court had its home in a more genial climate than that of Peking, affairs of State are discussed and Court ceremonies are held at or before dawn. To attend these even in a ripe old age would be held to be virtuous; but Khienlung did more than this. At the earliest break of day it was his wont to call together his advisers, and to discuss with them the wisdom of the ancients and the canonical dicta of the philosophers of old. With an ardent desire to promote the moral and intellectual well-being of his subjects, he made several progresses through the provinces north of the Yang-tsze-kiang to satisfy himself that the people were being well taught. For, with Confucius, he held that it was tyrannous in a ruler to punish those whom he had in the first instance neglected to teach. With an equal regard for their material well-being he carefully observed the signs of the skies, and in years of plenty filled the imperial granaries in preparation for times of leanness and scarcity. When the heavens withheld rain he prayed to the gods for fertilizing showers, and by fasting he wrested the help he sought from the powers above.

And now the courtier changes his note, and in lighter strains sings of the vigour and strength of the Son of Heaven. Though eighty years have passed over his head his natural force is not abated. With the same keen enjoyment of sport which has always characterized him, the octogenarian monarch leads the chase, not only in the imperial park, but in the wild prairies of Mongolia. When travelling he despises the luxurious ease of the imperial sedan chair with its four-and-twenty bearers, and prefers the back of the hunter which has carried him so often to cover. But not only is his body as vigorous, but his mind is as fresh as ever; witness the poems which, with each

recurring season—spring, summer, autumn, and winter—he favours his devoted subjects.

But how great also is his benevolence! Thrice within as many years has he granted pardons to all but the most heinous offenders, and on the occasion of each of his last few birthdays he has conferred rich and abiding honours on his faithful servants. And now, on the eightieth anniversary of his birth, he has remitted taxation throughout the empire, and has stopped the autumn assize with its deadly sequence of executions on the block, by the "silken cord," and the torturer's knife. More than this, with an open-handed hospitality, which even Cimon of Athens might have envied, he has feasted again and again the many thousands who can claim by virtue of office or of courtesy to be considered as belonging to the imperial household, has presented gifts of money to old soldiers, has distributed food in distressed districts, and has equalized the price of corn by sending superfluous stores of grain from rich districts into less well-favoured parts of the country. Neither has he been unmindful of unsuccessful competitors at the examinations. For their benefit additional examinations have been provided, and honorary degrees have been conferred on veterans who have grown grey in life-long attempts to win the literary palm. Thus more than a hundred years ago was a cry, similar to that which is now being heard at Oxford from the unsuccessful candidates for the Indian Civil Service, raised and responded to in China.

Himself a giant in literature, he yet felt for those whose strength was unable to bear the weight of the contest. With admiring eulogy his chronicler dwells on the literary gems contained in his two collections of prose writings, and in his poems which fill five series of volumes. Approbation, one degree less enthusiastic, is reserved for his catalogue *raisonné* of the imperial libraries at Peking, Jehol, Yuen-ming-yuen and Moukden, which was compiled under his direction. Twelve thousand volumes are described in

this great work, which not only gives the titles of the works, but *resumes* of their contents. Was not also his warm admiration for literary relics evinced when he ordered for the palace at Jehol replicas of the celebrated stone drums which are popularly believed to date from the Chow dynasty, and which now stand within the principal gate of the Confucian temple at Peking? And who does not recognize the same spirit in his command that the Chinese classics should be translated into Manchu for the enlightenment of his countrymen?

But while lavish in expenditure when the cause of literature was in question, he displayed an earnest desire to cut down the palace expenses, and kept a tight hand on the provincial outgoings. He objected to a proposal to build a classical hall as a memento of his reign, and with an anti-iconic wisdom, which English statesmen might well imitate, he threw cold water on a suggestion to erect another statue to Buddha, and forbid the undue embellishment of towns and cities with similar images.

By a constant process of self-examination he arrived at a due appreciation of his faults although the courtly chronicler declares in the spirit of Christopher Codrington—

"He has no faults, or I no faults can spy;
He is all beauty, or all blindness I."

The imperial penitent was, however, of a different opinion, and bewailed his failings in good set terms in *The Peking Gazette*. With that moderation also which, like "a silken string, ran through the pearl chain of all his virtues," he forbade his too adulatory courtiers to compose a congratulatory canon on the glories of his reign; and, when even the Governor of Shansi reported that the waters of that exceptionally muddy stream, the Yellow River, had by virtue of the purity of his reign taken to run in a limpid current as pure as crystal, he declined to accept the circumstance as a reflection of his virtue. With the same humility he received the reports of the viceroy of Kiangsu, in which

that officer announced that at the time of the jubilee harvest the wheat in his province had produced five ears on each stalk, and refused to accept the compliment as intended for himself. In fact, under his unpretentious sway the laudatory voices which delight to extol the virtues which surround the throne were theoretically hushed, and the provincial viceroys on whom the emperor deigned to confer copies of his works were not even allowed to return thanks for the lordly gift.

But all this virtue did not go unnoticed by heaven. As the jubilee year approached auspicious signs such as those above mentioned began to multiply, and instances of longevity and of fruitful matrons accumulated rapidly. In the province of Fuhkien the number of men enjoying the serene and bright evenings of days of patriarchal length was extraordinarily great, and the sum total of the years of the ages of the thousand veterans who, from this and other districts, sat down to dinner with the sovereign, was past the power of the chronicler to compute. In 1783 the case was reported to the throne of a man in Shansi who lived in his ancestral mansion surrounded by seven generations of descendants. In the following year the name of a Honan man was sent to Peking who was blessed with the presence of nine generations, and in the jubilee year a native of Kansuh was able to see the fruit of his body through a vista of ten degrees in the persons of one hundred and thirty descendants. But though "all nature wore one universal smile," the supreme modesty of Khienlung remained intact, and as each instance of heaven's approval reached him he proclaimed himself an unprofitable servant. Even in the palace itself signs were not wanting that the powers above had their hands full of blessings for the aged monarch. For it was given to him to see great-great-grandchildren growing up around him (a privilege which may yet be in store for the Queen), and to have the satisfaction of superintending the studies of these distant descendants.

Having thus enumerated the virtues of the emperor and their rewards, the chronicler next proceeds "to fight all his battles over again," but not quite *all*, for with courtly wisdom he manages to "here and there disclose a brave neglect," and omits all mention of those campaigns in which the tide of war flowed against his imperial master. Nor does he deem it fitting to associate with the jubilee more than the victories of the last decade, and he begins his record, according to date, with the victory of the redoubted General Ah-kwei over the Mahommedan rebels in North-Western China. He discreetly draws a veil over the objects and initial successes of the rebels, and says nothing of the straits to which the imperialists must have been reduced when they seriously proposed to find salvation for themselves by massacring every Mahommedan male above the age of fifteen. But with many flourishes of trumpets he chants a pæan over the famous victory of Ah-kwei when that general finally "pacified" Kansuh and led the leaders of the revolt out to execution.

With the same careful regard for the feelings of his sovereign he makes no mention of the three campaigns in Burma which present the curious feature of having ended disastrously to the Chinese in the field and successfully in a diplomatic sense. For fortunately for the Chinese the Burmese hold with Lycurgus that it is not wise to make war often against the same enemy lest by being frequently put upon to defend themselves they too should become able warriors in their turn. All this is passed over in silence, and the curtain is raised on envoys from Ava supplicating for permission to be allowed to carry their tributary presents to Peking. Leave is granted, and having at early dawn been allowed to kotow before the emperor, and to stand by the roadside to see his sedan-chair pass, the envoys are "commanded" to a feast, at which they had the honour of receiving an ode written for the occasion by the poet emperor. Thus enriched they were dismissed to the place whence they came, with directions to bring

to a peaceful conclusion the dispute which had been disturbing the relations between Burma and Siam with reference to the frontier between the two countries.

This was in 1788, and two years later, the jubilee year, envoys from Burma again presented themselves, bringing their sovereign's congratulations, and soliciting on his behalf the rights of fief over the land which was already his own. Oriental ways are not our ways, but it is difficult to understand the position of a victorious king who begs from his vanquished enemy feudal rights over his hereditary kingdom. No question as to the sanity of his sacred Majesty, Bodoaphrā, was suggested to the mind of Khienlung by this request, but with infinite condescension he granted the prayer, and having sent some more poetry and "ten precious objects" to "his younger brother," he again dismissed the ambassadors.

The Goorkha envoys are next held up as trophies of the emperor's prowess, even before the celebrated march of the Chinese general, Sun Fu, to the walls of Khatmandu (1791). Prompted by some inscrutable motive the Goorkha chief, Prithi Narayan, in 1789 appeared in deputy before the Son of Heaven to ask to be allowed to shelter himself under that ægis which is thrown by China over all tributary states. Pleased at the request the emperor decorated the envoys with cap buttons, peacocks' feathers, and girdles, and bade them convey to their sovereign his gracious assent to the petition.

Casting his eyes seaward the Court historian next takes up his parable anent the successes of the imperial troops in Formosa. From contemporary history we know that for years the aborigines had been giving the Chinese infinite trouble in that island, and that victory had not by any means always declared itself on the side of the Celestials. But at the time at which the chronicler wrote he was able to announce that both the rebel chief and his second in command had been taken and beheaded, and that the island was "pacified." Recent events on the same ground have

illustrated the rough-and-ready means by which this seemingly desirable result is commonly gained by the troops of China; and we find that the delightfully simple expedient of Chinese generals is to "make a solitude, and call it a peace." Possibly, in happy unconsciousness of what the "pacification" meant, the emperor commanded the erection of a tablet to commemorate the victories of his proconsuls, and ordered drawings to be made of the incidents of the campaign, which he accompanied with descriptive poetry, eulogizing the skill of his generals and the bravery of his troops. Still further to place himself *en rapport* with the circumstances of the war, he employed skilful artists to model figures of the native Formosans.

And now taking leave of the past the historian turns with an additional glow of admiration to recount the "largess universal like the sun," which the emperor vouchsafed to his subjects in acknowledgment of their fervent outbursts of loyalty. With lordly magnificence he opened his treasure houses, and scattered broadcast over the land gifts and remissions, honours and pardons, with a lavish hand. On an appointed day the officers of the Boards of Music and of Rites placed a yellow table in the Hall of Great Peace, and reverently, in the sight of the prostrate ministers, people, and envoys from Korea, Annam, Loochoo, Siam, and Mongolia, laid upon it an imperial decree instinct with mercy and munificence. To the assembled multitude the emperor's will was proclaimed by a herald, and officials were despatched to announce the same to the gods of the five mountains and the four rivers.

These deities were invited to look down upon the distribution, in the first place, of complimentary presents of silks and satins, gauzes and stuffs, to the princes and dukes of the imperial family; to the imperial concubines and generals' wives who had passed the age of sixty; to foreign dignitaries, and mandarins and their wives who had completed their sixth decade. Householders who could

claim to have beneath their roof five generations in descent shared also in these and more substantial gifts of money. Soldiers, too, who could number more than seventy, eighty, ninety, or one hundred years were awarded gifts on a sliding scale, though on what pretence veterans could have been allowed to linger so much too long on the military stage it is impossible to conjecture.

Next by an edict which must have shed light and rejoicings in all the Yamuns in the empire, every mandarin was awarded a step in rank; and it was further decreed that any unlucky officials to whom blind fortune may have awarded punishment by mistake—what an admission for the Son of Heaven to make!—should be restored to favour. But these were not the only offenders to whom grace was to be granted. All transported criminals who had served ten years were to have their chains struck off; and all culprits under sentence of death, whose names had escaped the imperial pencil two or three times, were to be set free.* Military convicts who preferred a hundred blows with the bamboo and freedom to working out their sentences were given the privilege, and the same alternative was graciously offered to all civil convicts "doing" their three years. To all offenders undergoing shorter sentences the prison doors were thrown open, and the branding irons were allowed to rust on their shelves during the whole twelvemonth. Minor offenders, such as wife-beaters, unintentional murderers and rioters, were also to have a large measure of mercy dealt out to them.

But peaceful citizens were by no means to be overlooked in the distribution of this imperial bounty. Certain taxes were entirely remitted, and others were reduced, some 30 and some 70 per cent. As, however, this remission would, if it were granted in one year, make the imperial

* The names of all condemned criminals are submitted in lists to the emperor, who marks a certain number for execution, pretty much at hazard. The names of those not so marked are inserted in the succeeding lists. It often happens, therefore, that the names of certain criminals are repeatedly passed over.

exchequer bankrupt, it was ordained that every province should be divided into three parts, and that each part should, in succession, be tax-free for a year. At the same time the public competitive examinations were to be multiplied so as to admit as many scholars as possible to the rank of graduate, and in addition to these benefactions food was distributed with a lavish hand, not only to all who had the slightest claim to it, but to very many who had none at all.

Inside the palace the emperor presided over several feasts, to which guests who were privileged in the widest sense were invited. At one such entertainment in the "Hall of Universal Harmony," the princes of the blood, the Korean, Siamese, Loochooan, and Goorkha envoys, with the Europeans attached to the Court, sat down to eat and to drink in the imperial presence. On another occasion, at Yuen-ming-yuen, a number of Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian officials were invited to a feast together with the king of Annam, the Korean, Annamese, Lao, and Formosan envoys, and other foreigners of distinction. At this high festival the emperor with his own hands apportioned his guests' food, and finally to the endless glory of thirty-nine favoured individuals presented each with a cup of wine. These highly honoured persons were chosen from among the princes, governors, Koreans, Burmese, Laos, and Mongolians present, and so long as history endures will their names be handed down as being men whom the emperor delighted to honour.

But for all the guests there were good things in store. Jade sceptres, pieces of satin, cap-tassels in boxes, purses and porcelain bowls were distributed among the princes and high mandarins. On the King of Annam, whose literary and artistic tastes it was evidently Khienlung's desire to improve, a piece of poetry, a poetical fan, a drawing of the western lake, a volume of poetry, a drawing, Khienlung's own poems in twenty-two volumes, an image of Buddha, a jade sceptre, besides jewels, porcelain, ten

thousand taels of silver, and a horse were conferred. While presents of a similar nature were handed to the representatives of Korea and Burma.

These feasts were accompanied by all the display of magnificence which Orientals delight in. The official robes of the assembled magnates were alone enough to make a brilliant and imposing spectacle. The harmoniously coloured silks and satins of the mandarins, with their red-tasselled and be-buttoned caps, the dark raiment of the Burmese, the bright-coloured garments of the Laos and Annamese, and the quaint dresses of the Koreans, all made up a picture which for colour-effect it would be difficult to match in any other capital in the world; while the quaint style of the surrounding buildings, with the added grace of fanciful and tasteful decorations, gave enhanced beauty to the *coup d'œil*.

The sight of all this splendour was not, however, witnessed without some pain and difficulty. The time of assembling was the anything but "witching hour" of dawn, and in order to ensure punctuality the guests were expected to arrive at the palace in the very early hours of the morning. Waiting in cold, cheerless ante-rooms for the first appearance of daylight is not an exhilarating entertainment, and to be agreeably convivial at a feast spread in the twilight of dawn requires an heroic effort. But the strain must have become severe indeed when the proceedings dragged their slow length along into the afternoon and even evening, as the seemingly endless process of distributing the gifts, complicated as it was by repeated kotowing and endless ceremonies, was wearily carried out.

And now from the contemplation of all these courtly splendours the historian descends into the dust and bustle of the arrangements for the culminating ceremonies connected with the triumphant progress of the emperor from Yuen-ming-yuen to the winter palace within the walls of Peking. The whole line of route, extending over some eight miles, was to be adorned with every object which was likely to

please the eye by its beauty and variety. "Like orient pearls at random strung," the sights on the sides of the roadway were to be so arranged as to charm and astonish. But the true art of preparing such a display belongs, all the world over, to the people of the sunny south, and just as we are compelled to look to Italy and France for ideas on street decorations, so the Pekingese officials appealed to the rich and artistic people of Central China to help them solve the difficulty they were called upon to face. The gorgeous displays in which the people of the wealthy cities of Kiangsu and Che-kiang delight to indulge, suggested at once the idea that it was from them that the most efficient aid could be obtained, and messages were therefore sent broadcast into those and the neighbouring provinces for the assistance of those who were accustomed to convert the streets of their towns into scenes from fairy-land on the recurrence of every great festival. Proud to have such an important task assigned to them, delegates from the districts named proceeded to the capital burdened with tons of the richest silks, satins, and cloths which their native looms could supply. With them went officials appointed by the viceroys to superintend the arrangements and to keep order among the countless thousands of sightseers, workpeople, and followers of the magnates who were come to bend the knee before the Son of Heaven.

While all Peking was thus in an uproar of preparation the foreign kings, princes, and ambassadors who were to take part in the ceremonies passed on to Jehol in Mongolia, whither the emperor had retired to avoid the heat and dust of the capital. Seldom has even an Eastern court presented such a medley of nationalities and such a variety of costumes and surroundings as those which assembled at this imperial hunting palace. First to arrive were the Mongol khans, princes, and potentates, who owed allegiance to the Bogdo Khan, and who poured in from all parts of Central Asia, from Manchuria on the east to Turkestan on the west, and from the confines of Siberia to the borders of

India. As each arrived he emptied at the feet of his imperial master the richest treasures of his kingdom. Priceless jade ornaments, costly furs, and the fleetest horses which the steppes could supply, were presented in reckless profusion. Following on these dusky warriors came the king of Annam, who after a voyage of four months found himself in the presence of his liege lord.* The rank and importance of this visitor gained him a royal welcome from Khienlung, who marked his appreciation of his loyalty by bestowing on him a red cap button, a three-eyed peacock's feather, a yellow jacket, and four suits of Court clothes ornamented with four-clawed dragons. By a gracious dispensation he ordered that the king and the foreign ambassadors should wear the dresses of their respective countries at the high festivals which were to be held in Peking, and he even condescended to write an ode on the robe of the king which appears to have struck his imagination.

Representatives of Shan States, bearing presents of palm-leaf manuscripts and young elephants, were succeeded by envoys from the court of Ava, who made offerings of gold-leaf books, a statue of the Buddha of longevity, with a sūtra by the same deity, a "flowery" elephant, six trained elephants, five pairs of tusks and ten pairs of peacock screens. The Loochoo islanders, in the absence of any rare and costly native products, brought specimens of their skill as artists in a pair of golden storks, sixty pieces of five-clawed dragon porcelain, and countless painted screens. Next gorgeously attired ambassadors from the king of Siam performed the kotōw, and presented on behalf of their master gold-leaf books, ten pairs of "longevity" lamps, and one pair of tame elephants. With these came also Goorkha envoys from Nepaul, aborigines from Sze-ch'uen, Kansu, and Formosa, Koreans, and last, but not least, five Portuguese; seven Frenchmen, among whose Chinese names it is possible to recognize those of Nicholas Raux, Joseph Ghislain, and Joseph Pain; and five Italians, all of whom

were in the employment of Khienlung as the exponents of various arts and sciences. Lest they should incur the ignominy of presenting themselves before their sovereign on this great occasion empty-handed, these men laid at his feet pictures representing the victories gained by the imperial forces, together with glass tumblers and other products of western lands.

When all these emissaries had kotowed before the emperor and had gazed upon the veteran ruler, warrior, and poet—

“ Deep on whose front engraven
Deliberation sat and public care,”

they one and all received directions to return to Peking, there to await the arrival of the Court. It may well be understood how desirable and even necessary it must have been to get rid of so vast an assembly from Jehol, where it may even be questioned whether there was enough for them all to eat. But the cloud of visitors having dispersed as speedily as it collected, arrangements were at once made for the State procession to Peking. With elaborate care every detail was worked out. The road, a hundred and forty miles long, was made level, the halting-places were arranged, and the order of procedure was exactly determined.

As no description of such an imperial procession has ever been laid before English readers, we shall make no apology for giving some particulars of the order of march on this historical occasion. The emperor himself was seated in a peacock-topped, red-shafted carriage, and was escorted by a light carriage and ten Tartar horses (probably relays). Following these were carried two gold chafing dishes, two gold incense boxes, two gold hand-basins, two gold bottles, a camp table and chair. These with their imperial owner were protected by thirty swordsmen, three archers, thirty leopard-tailed spearmen and light lancers. Behind these were carried forty blue, red, and yellow brocaded satin umbrellas, four moon-white umbrellas of the same

material, four canopies ornamented with kingfishers' wings, eight purple and red brocaded satin square umbrellas, and four "quieting" horse-whips. Fans, the invariable accompaniments of all Eastern pageants, followed next in goodly array, to wit, fourteen yellow brocaded satin fans, two rice-coloured, six red, and sixteen yellow ones of the same material, and eight of the red phoenix pattern. Next in order came four longevity pennants, together with two purple, four snowy, and four "feathery" flags of the same kind. Two "faithful," four red, and four dragon-headed streamers floated in the wind behind these, and these again were followed by banners which bore designations which are suggestive of the cant-compounded names of the old Puritan leaders. There were two "Teaching filial-piety and virtue banners," two "making-punishments-plain and guiding-instruction banners," two "lauding-merit and cherishing-the-distant banners," two "stating-in-writing banners," two "stimulating-the-military banners," two "assenting-words banners," and two "entering-on-virtue banners." Next came two golden tablets followed by two lances with feathers, and then an almost endless array of yellow, red, blue, green, "moon-white," and black standards of silk and satin. Sixteen golden battle-axes came next in the procession, accompanied by the same number of "stars," melons lying down, and melons standing erect. Thirty-two soldiers of the imperial guard regiments and twelve pioneers marched in rear of these, and last of all came the band consisting of performers on fifty-six drums of various kinds, fourteen "dragon" and "peaceful" flutes, eight cymbals, sixty horns, two pandean pipes, two flageolets, two gongs, and two bells.

Surrounded by this imperial state the emperor, on the thirtieth day of the seventh month, reached the portals of the summer palace at Yuen-ming-yuen, where for thirteen days he reposed after the fatigues of his journey. At the end of that time, on a set day, he gave audience to the people, nations, and languages who had come to do him

honour. This ceremony, which was marked with more than usual pomp, was held at the "Hall of Universal Harmony," in the palace at Peking. At the conventional and uncomfortable early hour of dawn the guests began to assemble in the courtyard facing the imperial dais, and long before the strains of the emperor's band announced the approach of the Son of Heaven the hall was filled to overflowing by an orderly crowd, each unit of which stood exactly in the spot decreed by the Board of Ceremonies as being proper to him.

On the raised vermilion way leading to the throne stood the princes of the blood, the king of Annam, and some few officers of the highest rank, while to the west of that favoured causeway were arranged the foreign ambassadors and envoys, and on the east the mandarins present according to their ranks. As the emperor, who still stood

" With Atlantean shoulders, fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies,"

ascended the throne, the music paused, but only to burst out again in the joyous strains of the air, "Happiness and Peace." To the tune of this soothing melody the masters of the ceremonies led up in succession to the throne the princes and Mongol khans; the king of Annam, the ambassadors of the kings of Burma, Siam, and Korea, and of the Shan and Goorkha chiefs; the representatives of the aboriginal tribes of Sze-ch'uen and Formosa; and the European residents at the Court. As one and all of these reached their appointed places, they thrice bent their pliant knees, and nine times performed the kotow, while with bated breath they offered their congratulations to the Lord paramount of Eastern Asia.

So soon as they had recovered their original positions, tea was served, and as each received his cup and finished it he kotowed to his imperial host. This final kotow was the signal for the retirement of the emperor, who leaving with his guests an invitation to listen to his band perform the

air, "Firmness and Peace," betook himself to the inner palace to receive the congratulations of his concubines of the first and second ranks. As this ceremony was arcane, we are told nothing of it beyond the fact that each concubine knelt thrice and bowed thrice before their lord, to the appropriate piece played by the band of "Harmony and Quiet." Following on these ladies' heels, but at a discreet distance, came the emperor's sons and grandsons, who in the intervals between kotowing and kneeling gave utterance to their desire that he might live for countless ages the possessor of health, of power, and of peace.

But, mighty though the emperor was, there were yet powers higher than he whom he was bound to respect and honour. To these deities every event of importance in the life of an emperor has to be reported and fitting sacrifices to be offered. And Khienlung, therefore, as in duty bound, appointed six ministers to announce the completion of his eightieth year, and to offer sacrifices, to the five sacred mountains; to the gods of cities, seas, rivers, clouds, thunder, and rain; to the five ancestors of antiquity, and to Confucius. At the same time princes of the blood were commissioned to carry the like glad tidings to heaven, earth, the imperial ancestors, and the gods of grain.

And now all the sacred and official functions having been performed there remained only the great popular festival—the procession of the emperor from Yuen-ming-yuen to the palace in Peking. For months preparations had been made for this carnival. From all parts of the empire had poured into the capital the richest and choicest products of looms and factories for the adornment of the line of route, while the most skilful artificers and artists were employed to exercise their ingenuity and taste in arranging and beautifying the materials at hand. By a happy inspiration it was determined to lay before the aged emperor in the short journey from the summer palace to the capital a microcosm of the empire at large. For this purpose every trade, every industry, and every business

were represented by handicraftsmen of each pursuing their own callings, while the religions and superstitions of the people were illustrated by shrines and temples peopled with deities and genii of the most approved and orthodox shapes.

On the morning of the twentieth day of the eighth month the emperor mounted his imperial sedan-chair, and escorted in much the same order as when he arrived at Yuen-ming-yuen, except that on this occasion golden chariots, elephant chariots, and jewelled chariots, with loose elephants and men bearing flags sacred to Saturn, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus followed in his train; he started on his imperial progress. As he emerged from the gateway the princes, Mongolian dignitaries, and dukes who were there assembled fell on their knees before him, an example which was followed along the route by all those who were privileged to be spectators of his presence. A pavilion, built to imitate European architecture, marked the place a little further on where the members of the imperial clan knelt to do honour to their kinsman, and beyond, under the shadow of some artificial hills, were assembled the king of Annam and the tributary envoys holding forth in their outstretched hands pieces of coral, strings of pearls, and other products of the lands and seas which gave them birth. Gaily decorated pavilions from which bands discoursed sweet music, cool splashing fountains, and prettily landscaped rockeries added their charms to this part of the route. But passing from the mere beautiful to the practical, lines of shops, hospitals, and perhaps with an attempt at grim pleasantry, butchers' stalls succeeded, and were followed by an artificial mountain at the base of which boys, mounted on bamboo figures of the "eight creatures," viz., horses, oxen, dragons, fowls, swine, pheasants, dogs, and goats, rode gaily round.

At various stages along the road prettily carved pavilions afforded shelter to officials of the various grades and from the different provinces, while in others were arranged

thrones and refreshments for the emperor in case he should be tempted to alight. Actors, gymnasts, conjurors, and acrobats performed their most attractive feats at stated intervals, and ponds in which artificial fish were drawn along by invisible magnets formed a variation in the show which combined the mysterious with the wonderful. The heavenly powers were represented by the eight genii, who appeared to be conferring their choicest gifts on the imperial passer-by, while the god of longevity repeated himself with almost wearisome iteration in his desire to assure the emperor of the privileges he had in store for him. To the eyes of ordinary mortals more pleasing sights were those presented by twelve daughters of heaven offering flowers, and a bevy of goddesses of the sea who stood to render their homage. Possibly to impart a flavour of orthodoxy to these heretical manifestations of nature worship, Buddhist temples were occasionally introduced, peopled with shaven priests who, in order to remind the emperor of the manner of the introduction of the religion, had at one place the figure of a white horse carrying bundles of Sūtras in imitation of the white horse which bore to Loyang the original manuscripts brought from India. A Mahommedan mosque also graced the scene, and by its presence gave evidence of the religious tolerance of the people.

With busy industry artizans plied their various trades by the roadside. Agriculturists also ploughed fields, sowed grain, and reaped harvests in sight of the emperor's sedan. So, too, women picked tea-leaves, singing the while out of compliment to the imperial bard the tea-picking ballad composed by the emperor; fishermen landed their finny prey from the waters of the river and ponds; women sat at their looms weaving silken stuffs; farmers tended their poultry, and cottagers worked in their gardens while their wives employed themselves in their domestic duties. Triumphal arches, some composed of flowers and others of carved wood designed in all possible and impossible

shapes, were stretched across the road at frequent intervals, while boys fluttered about dressed as bats, the emblems of happiness, or in the shape of phoenixes flapped their wings on pavilion roofs, or offered fruits to their lord and master, disguised as monkeys, or again in company with beautiful women danced and postured to the delight of all beholders. The river which ran parallel to the road was gay with green, blue, and red dragon boats, and the bridges were made the scenes of mythological triumphs over the beasts of the forest. Elephants and old men stood and knelt at many a "coign of vantage," and noticeable features in the decorations were the number of pavilions designed on European models, with one in the shape of a cross. The literary instincts of the people were manifested in the presence of libraries, and beautifully painted panels reminded the emperor that admirable as were the paintings of M. Castiglioni, the late Court artist, the nation could yet boast of an art which for graceful arrangement, harmony of colouring, and true artistic feeling, has seldom been surpassed. The arrival at the palace gate brought the "beatific vision" to an end, and we may well imagine that the door closed on a weary though delighted sovereign.

A grand reception finally brought the principal festivities to a close. On this occasion the emperor's sons and grandsons danced before him and sang three hundred of his songs ! With such a lengthy programme it is difficult to imagine how they could have found time to present him with the goblet of ten thousand times ten thousand years of life, or how the king of Annam and the Burmese envoys could possibly have had opportunities of performing selections of their native songs in his presence. But we are told that they did, and yet were capable in the evening of "assisting" at a display of fireworks in the palace grounds. Scarcely less wearisome must have been their enforced attendance at a succession of theatrical performances on the following days to which they were admitted in batches,

the building being too small to contain them all. But even these acts of munificence did not exhaust the stream of the emperor's bounty. Day after day a continuous supply of gold and jade ornaments, embroidered clothes, tea, and fruit reached the ambassadors and envoys from the palace, and the Dalai Lama of Tibet, who appears to have arrived too late to take part in the festivities, became the recipient of images of Buddha, silver tea chests, vases, satins and silks in quantities which appeared to be out of all proportion to the gifts of "Red books" which he brought with him for presentation from Lhassa.

And so the curtain fell on this imperial pageant amid the echoes of the shouts of adulation which reverberated from the mountains of Manchuria and Tartary to the frontiers of India and Turkestan, and from the Indian Ocean to the China Sea. And thus with one consent the peoples of Central and Eastern Asia fell down before the throne of the Son of Heaven and proclaimed aloud again and again that—

"None but himself could be his parallel."

What wonder, then, that Khienlung and his successors, who believed their power to be co-extensive with his, should have looked with scorn and defiance on us islanders from the western ocean who dared to claim for our sovereign equal rights with the mighty monarchs whose commands passed current in so many realms! Fortunately, however, the people of China are, as we have lately been told in the pages of this Review, awakening from this dream of far-stretched greatness, and having long boasted of their power, are now beginning to understand their weakness.

ROBERT K. DOUGLAS.

· INDIAN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.*

Your Excellency the Viceroy and Chancellor, Members of the Senate, and Graduates of the University of Calcutta,—

I HAD hoped that we should have been privileged to listen, to-day, to a Statesman whose eloquence has adorned high posts in America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. But, my Lord, you have yourself laid your command upon me to address the present Convocation, and however much I may regret this decision for the sake of my fellow-members of the University, I cheerfully obey Your Excellency's order. For surely no man can look down on this hall, filled with the educated youth of Northern India on the eve of their start in life, without being glad of an opportunity of wishing them God-speed, and saying to them such words of counsel and of comfort as may be found in him. There is, however, another thought even more insistent at this moment in my mind. For standing amid the senators and dignitaries of this great seat of learning, I cannot help asking myself, How far have this University, and the system of education which it represents, fitted these young men for their work in life?

That is a question which has caused much heart-searching during the past year. Judged, indeed, by the outward and material results, there can be no question whatever. In 1861, just a quarter of a century ago, this University, then a homeless body-corporate, held its Entrance Examination in tents upon the hot open plain. Its examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Arts were con-

* Being an Address to the Convocation of the Calcutta University, by the Honourable the Vice-Chancellor, Sir William Hunter, K.C.S.I. ; delivered in the Senate House on January 8, 1887.

ducted in a borrowed chamber, disturbed one day by a concert-company on the floor above, and on another day by the settling up of the Calcutta races in the next room. In that year it passed its first Master of Arts. The tents on the open plain have grown into this stately hall: the graduates have advanced from tens to hundreds, and from hundreds to thousands. This year, the numbers made another leap forward. The candidates for the Entrance Examination reached their highest point, within a few units of 4,400. The candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts were more than double the number in the preceding year. The number of Masters of Arts were also double the number in 1885.

Judged, therefore, by the test of figures, or by this pillared Senate House with its lofty ceilings and marble statues, the career of the University has been wholly prosperous. But the true results of a great spiritual influence upon a people cannot be gauged by statistics alone, or by any outward magnificence in stone or lime. The Calcutta University stands not only as the door by which the educated classes in this country pass into the professions; but also as a barrier at their entrance into practical life. In England, the young doctor, the young engineer, the young lawyer, have many pathways into their future vocations besides the Universities. In India, a youth has, with few exceptions, to qualify himself for his profession, whether medicine, or civil engineering, or teaching, or the law, in an institution affiliated to a University, by a course of study regulated by the University standards, and tested by the University examinations. The Calcutta University guides in this way the higher education of over 120 millions of people (more than Gibbon's estimate of the whole population of the Roman Empire), in ninety-eight affiliated colleges and schools.

Such a system of Public Instruction has to work from above; and not, as in countries where education has slowly developed on popular lines, from below. One of its sources

of incompleteness is, that, unless very carefully and very intelligently watched, it fails to keep touch with the changing practical needs of the people. This peril of Public Instruction in India has been powerfully realized by our present Viceroy. The great economic necessity of India is to find food for an increasing pent-up population, by opening new fields of industry, and by rendering the national labour more productive in the old fields. Europe has had to deal with the same difficulty ; and one of the most effective remedies adopted by European States is technical education. The need of such instruction is most painfully clear to us in India, where all engineering and even mechanical labour above a certain class has hitherto had to be imported from a distant continent at a great cost. But the problem is a much larger one. The truth is that India is at this moment in the midst of an industrial revolution of unexampled rapidity and magnitude. It is passing before our eyes from the old-world domestic industries of the handloom and the forest-forge, to the modern developments of industrial co-operation, the cotton-mill, the coal-mine, and the steam-foundry. It is to fit India to play her part as a great industrial country in this new era, that Lord Dufferin's proposals for a system of technical education are designed.

But although the need of technical education is peculiarly apparent in India, the difficulties are unusually great. For, in the first place, the staple trade of India is agriculture ; and while this is a branch of industry in which improvement is much required, it is also one in which improvement has, in every country, proved slowest. In the second place, technical education costs money ; and the Government of India has at present little money to spare. Indeed, during the past year, the educational authorities have been struggling to preserve the sums already allotted, rather than hoping for additional grants. Anxious as I am to see technical education extended throughout India, I should deeply regret if the funds were obtained for it by

crippling our present educational work. This University receives no grant whatever from the State. It can therefore, without fear of misconstruction, raise its warning voice against the introduction of any new scheme, however promising, at the cost of established schemes which have proved their practical usefulness.

But having said this, I wish also to add that I believe a way can be found out of the difficulty, and that technical education will before long become an integral part of Public Instruction in India. The immense economic value of the measures now contemplated by Lord Dufferin will then be realized. It will be seen that the joint effect of the policy of the present and of the late Viceroy is to develop Indian education into a complete and perfect whole. As the aim of Lord Ripon was to expand a departmental system of Public Instruction into a system of truly national education; so the educational aim of Lord Dufferin is to bring that system into accord with the industrial necessities of modern Indian life.

This University has not been slow to consider by what methods it can most effectively help the good work. To some of us it seemed that, by an expansion of the subjects prescribed for the Entrance Examination, we could give an impulse to the preliminary branches of instruction, on which a sound technical education might subsequently be based. But the majority of the Senate decided, and I think decided wisely, to adopt a course which still leaves the question open. For until the University sees provision made for the thorough teaching of new subjects, it would only encourage superficiality, if it were to institute examinations in those subjects.

Shortly after the Government issued its Resolution on technical education, the head of an engineering college showed me a letter from a municipal schoolmaster to the following effect: "Sir, the Committee of this school desire to introduce technical instruction. They are anxious to obtain from your college a thoroughly qualified young

engineer, who will teach the sciences and their practical application. Salary Rs. 40 per mensem. "Please supply." Educated labour is cheap in India. But not even in India can a young man be found, thoroughly qualified to teach the whole circle of the arts and sciences, on Rs. 40 a month.

If, therefore, the State determines to introduce technical education on any adequate scale, it must deliberately face this question of the cost. Meanwhile I welcome every sign of the people taking up the question for themselves. Nor are such signs wanting. Even from the backward province of Sind, we hear of a college sending to England for a highly trained professor of science.* In Calcutta, we see two of the returned Bengali students from Cirencester setting up a school without any aid from the State, to combine general education with skilled instruction in agriculture. At Midnapur and other rural centres, efforts are being made to engraft technical education upon the existing scholastic course. What may be the individual fate of these efforts it is premature to predict. But the spirit is moving among the people. Of one thing I feel sure, that if the Government will do its part, the liberality of the people will not be wanting. What India now requires is not additional State education, but additional State aid to local effort.

This year we have had fresh proofs that the old beneficence of India is being more and more diverted from eleemosynary to educational objects. I would mention as a single instance in a neighbouring district, the elevation of the Naral High School to a First Arts College; entirely effected by local effort. The example of State liberality to education opens up a hundred springs of private munificence. Last autumn the first Government Scholar, nominated by this University, was sent home for a complete course of study at Oxford or Cambridge. But hardly had this gentleman been selected, than we had also to elect another scholar to proceed to England for three years to study Law or Medicine, on the princely foundation

of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal. I feel confident that if the Government now sees its way to set the example of liberality to technical education, local effort and private beneficence will do their part.

But in a great movement there is something more inspiring and more effective even than local effort and private beneficence : and that is the united munificence of a people. I cannot forget that this is the Jubilee Year of our gracious sovereign, the Queen-Empress. It will be rendered memorable in every distant part of Her Majesty's great Empire, not alone by towering edifices and by monuments in marble and bronze, but also by the establishment of many institutions destined to benefit future generations. I shall rejoice if it is put into the hearts of the people of India to devote a part of their commemoration fund to placing technical education upon a secure and permanent basis. For I know of no other way in which they can confer so great a benefit on India, or so surely give their children and their children's children cause to bless this auspicious year of a long and most glorious reign.

During that reign India has entered the markets of the world in a new character. She appears no longer as a retailer of luxuries for the rich, but as a wholesale producer of staples — of the crops which feed, and of the fabrics which will yet clothe other nations. This change means, that fifty years ago India had a practical monopoly in most of the few articles which she sold ; while now she has to face the keen competition of many countries. In 1837, the first year of Her Majesty's reign, India exported about ten millions sterling of luxuries for which she could generally ask her own price. In 1887, India will export ninety millions sterling worth of staples, but she will have to compete with the whole world, from California to China, in finding a market.

The industrial revolution is effecting changes in the working life of the people, which are felt, for evil or for good, in every homestead throughout this vast land. We

can do something to secure that they shall be felt for good. In one respect, indeed, India and England have at this moment a unique opportunity. For India has the cheapest labour in the world, and England has the cheapest capital. England is sending her capital to India, but Indian labour has not been able to keep pace with the changes required from it. The truth is that, in Europe and America, the new industrial era has called forth new methods of instructing the national labour, and of rendering it more effective. India will obtain her true position in the industrial world only when she adopts similar methods of technical education. I shall therefore, on the proper occasion urge that part of the fund to be raised to commemorate the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress, be devoted to that purpose, for I look upon this as a providential opportunity for directing a portion of the national wealth to a permanent means of national progress.

India will rejoice in many ways that her beloved sovereign has been spared to reign during so many glorious years. Illuminations, statues, memorial buildings, wells by the wayside, and the feeding of the poor, are each and all fitting expressions of the glad heart of the people. But to enable India to worthily fill the new place which she has won in the industrial world during Queen Victoria's reign, seems to my mind one of the noblest purposes to which the united thank-offerings of the nation can be devoted. For the last illumination will sputter out into darkness, and time will lay its defacing finger on the marble and the bronze. But the education of the people has within itself an inherent life which can never perish, and which will throw out new and ampler growths from generation to generation.

I have dwelt at some length on a very practical aspect of education, for this University is to the great multitude of its youth the doorway into the practical professions. But education has also another object, and I do not forget the motto which we bear upon our seal. New graduates of the University! examine the diplomas which you have this

day received, and you will find impressed on each parchment the words, THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING. I well know that to most of you, the education of your youth must be the bread-winner of your life. But there are many among you who will have leisure to advance learning yourselves, and many who will have ample means to assist in its advancement by others. I trust, too, and believe that in some of your souls there burns that sacred fire, that love of learning for its own sake, that desire for intellectual fame, and that hereditary talent for literary work, which made India an illuminated continent upon the map of the ancient world, and which neither poverty nor the hard struggle of this modern age can quench.

To such among you I would say, that I envy the splendid possibilities now within your reach. If I were asked, in what position has a young man at this moment the best chance of winning a great and enduring reputation by literary work, I would answer, as a graduate of one of our Indian Universities. For in no other country that I know of, are such masses of literary work waiting for the worker. Take the fundamental question of the origin of the Indian people, and you will find European scholarship at a standstill for want of local Indian research. Philology has wrung from Sanskrit its secrets concerning the early migrations of mankind. But into that still more marvellous world of prehistoric human movement, represented by the Non-Aryan elements in Indian speech, European scholars at this moment find no further thoroughfare.

So strongly was this felt at the Oriental Congress at Vienna last autumn, that a scheme was drawn up and has been urged upon the Indian Government, to organize a systematic survey of this dark *terra incognita*. And I grieve to add, that when the authors of that scheme looked round for men who would help them to do the actual work, their eyes fell not upon the graduates of our Indian Universities, but upon the *gurus* and *pandits* and teachers of indigenous schools, trained upon the old Indian methods,

and inured to the ancient honourable poverty of the Indian man of letters. I sincerely trust that some among you will yet prove to Europe, that a new class of intellectual workers has arisen in India, better equipped, and not less patient of labour, than the old. Steps are being taken to obtain the affiliation of the colleges under this University to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. We hope in this way to open up wider possibilities of culture to our academic youth. But the educated classes in this country can win the respect of the outer world only by original contributions to the world's knowledge.

If your bent is towards literature rather than scholarship, what unexplored regions stretch before you! The popular song of India is, for the most part, still a sealed book to Europe. Or rather it is not a book at all, for it has never been reduced to writing. The ascertained religious poetry of a single sect in Northern India amounts to half a million of verses. How much more there may be of it, we know not; for it exists only in the memories and the mouths of the people. Or take the mediæval literature of Lower Bengal lying around us. What would the historian not give for a complete English edition of the works of your Makunda Rám Chakravarti! That single Bengali poet furnishes a more life-like picture of the actual working of the Muhammadan government in Bengal, with more curious details regarding the delta in the sixteenth century, its river-routes and shifting fluvial channels, than can be found in the great statistical survey of the Emperor Akbar. But, indeed, it matters not what branch of vernacular literature you take up. Towards whatever quarter you set sail, there are new Americas to discover. If there is any worker among you, who fears not poverty and who loves fame, he may accomplish a most memorable achievement, and stand forth as the interpreter of mediæval Bengal to the Western world. Believe me, this University will know how to honour such a man. And it will feel a nobler pride in his labours, than in the richest material success

or in the highest official distinctions which may reward more lucrative careers. I hope, before many weeks have passed, to submit proposals to the Senate for editing and translating the Mediæval Texts of Bengal, under the auspices of this University.

The need of new workers is great at present, for the illustrious workers of the past are one by one being taken away. A few of them, like Brian Houghton Hodgson in England and Pandit Vidyasagara in Bengal, those brightest lights in the firmament of Northern Indian research, still shine. But they shine low down on the horizon : and the other stars with which they climbed the zenith are set. Since the last week of 1885, the University has lost several distinguished members. Mr. Locke's death deprived us of a genuine lover of Indian art. In Dr. Chandra Kumar Dé, we lost a true man of science, whose translations from the German have won for him a permanent place in medical literature. By the decease of Raja Harendra Krishna, the University has been deprived of an enlightened patron of education. But chiefly we lament the loss of Babu Prasanna Kumar Sarvadhikari—the erudite Principal of the Sanskrit College, the conscientious custodian and spirited defender of its precious manuscripts, the ingenious mathematician who transplanted the arithmetic and algebra of Europe into the vernacular of Bengal.

The loss of such men makes us look anxiously to the quality of the rising generation of graduates, who will in due time fill the places left vacant by death. We therefore view with satisfaction the fact that while our undergraduates have increased in number, there is also a more strongly marked tendency among them to pursue their studies to the final goals. In 1886, there were 869 candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, against 428 in 1885. One hundred and twenty of them passed with honours, as against 52 honours-men in the previous year : while 70 gentlemen proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts as compared with 34 in 1885. This sudden increase is due

chiefly to temporary causes ; although certain of its best features may, in part, be the result of the new system of dividing the B.A. Examinations into a Pass and an Honours Examination in each subject. We can scarcely expect that our present numbers will be maintained. For we hope this year to see the establishment of a new University at Allahabad, which will derive its alumni from the youth in the North-Western Provinces, who have hitherto entered the Calcutta University. There is ample room for both : and we shall heartily welcome our younger sister. The time has come when North-Western India may justly claim that its higher education shall be guided and fostered by a University of its own.

University culture carries with it in this country, at present, very distinct moral obligations. A struggle is going on in India between old customs and new ideas, such as the world has not seen since the breaking up of the Roman Empire. Your social institutions, your domestic relations, are being re-examined from new moral stand-points. The questions which agitated Indian society in the last generation were questions of caste and creed. The question which the present generation has to settle, is the position of woman. For it is perceived by external nations, and to a large extent realized by yourselves, that the condition of women in modern India has not kept pace with the rapid general progress. Child-marriage, the enforced penitential celibacy of widows, the difficulty of educating a girl population which is snatched away from school at the age of ten or twelve, and consigned to the seclusion and the cares of Oriental wedded life—these are the pressing problems which you, young men, will have, each in his own house, to solve.

And you will have to solve these problems with little aid from outsiders. The status of the Hindu woman has its roots so deep, in Hindu law, in Hindu religion, in the necessities of the hard life of the poor, and in the hereditary sentiment of the refined and chivalrous classes, as to defy

all direct interference from without. This University is doing what it can to help you indirectly, by cordially throwing open its examinations to women. Last year, 23 female students passed the Entrance Examinations, or double those in 1885; four passed the First Arts; and three took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, one of them for the first time with Honours. Women are coming forward to the University in increasing numbers; they are thoroughly in earnest; and as a rule they are well prepared. Another movement on the side of progress is the noble organization set on foot by the greatest lady in the land, to bring female medical aid within reach of the women of India. That movement is calling into existence a body of highly trained women, devoted to one of the most sacred of human employments, the healing art. Influences will thus be brought into action which must affect powerfully, although indirectly, the popular view of the capacities and the rights of women. But if you, in this generation, desire to see woman in India rise to her modern place as the free and intelligent helpmate of man, the main effort must be made by yourselves.

For that effort, and for the many other struggles, practical, social, and political, which assuredly lie before you, the system of education which this University represents has armed you with a powerful weapon. The one branch of knowledge which the University makes compulsory, is the English language. Each of you has selected such additional subjects as he pleased, but a thorough study of English has been demanded from you all. Now English has during many generations been the language of liberty; and it has proved the most potent modern instrument of social, domestic, and political progress. But English is not only the language of liberty, it is also the language of moderation. There is no other spoken language which so little lends itself to exaggeration, or in which there are so few insincerities give out so false a ring. While, therefore, you go forth to-day from these walls

of all true and sound progress, never forget that moderation in life, in thought, and in speech—that godlike TEMPERANTIA which ranked as the chief virtue in the ancient philosophy, and which is nowhere more effective than in our English tongue.

Do not suppose that the injunction which it was my office to address to each of you to-day, in admitting you to your Degrees, was an empty form of words. As I then charged you individually, so now I charge you collectively, that ever in your life and conversation you show yourselves worthy of the same. There was an ancient race who, wandering forth in search of new homes, passed through a hard country till they came to a river which separated them from their promised land. When at last they had crossed that river, they set up certain memorial stones. You, young men, have also passed through a hard country of tutors and governors and anxious struggle and long toil. This day you too have crossed over into the new life to which you looked forward. Set up, therefore, this day, fixed resolutions to bear yourselves nobly in the world which you have now entered—resolutions to which you may look back in after years, whether years of disillusionment or of failure or of success, even as that ancient race looked back for a perpetual testimony to the memorial stones at Gilgal.

DRAGON MYTHS OF THE EAST.

THE great elemental myths were the common property of primitive humanity. In disjointed fragments they still survive all over the universe, and we find the fires of Baal kindled throughout Europe at the summer solstice, and the flame-passage, inherited from the rites of Moloch, performed by many a Piedmontese peasant. The Mexican fish-god, Teocipatl, who escaped the Deluge in a cypress-chest and repopled the devastated world, plays the part of Vishnu, who in the fish Avatár drank the destroying waters; while the "holy cel" still venerated by Irish rustics as the supernatural inmate of their miraculous springs, is a shabby but unmistakable representative of the "Dragon Spirit of the Sacred Well," the recipient of a statelier worship in China.

Thus, too, the legendary Dragon Throne of Britain rests on the same foundation with that of Cathay, and

"The Dragon of the great Pendragonship,"

which clung to English Arthur's crest, and blazed on his banner in fray and tourney, is the same golden monstrosity that still writhes on the standard of the Son of Heaven, and looms on every fold of Imperial drapery at Pekin.

For Arthur's mythical character as a water hero, alone entitling him to the dragon cognizance, is still discernible in fugitive traces throughout his story, notwithstanding the accretions of extraneous romance that have overlaid it.

"From the great deep to the great deep he goes,"

prophesied Mage Merlin of the mysterious babe, wave-borne to his feet on the Cornish coast from a ship,

"The shape thereof
A dragon winged,"

and doomed to pass away in similar fashion, in fairy-barge from lonely mere to wave-girt Avilion. The friendship of the Lady of the Lake, Arthur's watery Egeria, and the gift of the magic brand Excalibur, reached from subaqueous depths, are indications of the same nature; while the family lineage is even more distinctly traceable in his sister Morgan le Fay, linked by her name at once with the Fata Morgana, the water-witch of Italian song, and with the ruder mermaid of northern folk-lore, in Cornish dialect Morvoren, and in Breton Mari-Morgan.

More suggestive still are the attributes ascribed to the hero's father, Uthyr Pendragon. The pilot of the ark or *kyl*, laden with grain and upheld by snakes, through the terrible waves of the deluge, he is described as a contemplative spirit brooding over the waters, who calls himself the king of darkness, and claims the rainbow as his shield. The version of his story, according to which it was under the form of a cloud that he became the father of Arthur, gives us the key to the allegory which implies the birth of the earth-waters from the sky-waters, the streaming floods from the aerial vapours. Shadowy analogies with the Arthurian legend are to be found in some of the Eastern dragon tales, coupled with a name recalling that of Uthyr, in which philologists might perhaps trace the Aryan root *udh*, "to gush forth."

Thus it is that the Laureate, fathoming, with perhaps unconscious intuition, the true significance of his subject, has pictured to us the Cambrian prince overlooking the lists at Camelot amid such ornamental pomp as might be seem Chinese royalty.

"Since to his crown the golden dragon clung,
And down his robe the dragon writhed in gold,
And from the carven work behind him crept
Two dragons gilded, sloping down to make

Arms to his chair, while all the rest of them,
Through knots and loops and folds innumerable,
Fled ever through the woodwork till they found
The new design wherein they lost themselves."

For it is in the farthest East, the Orient of Orient, where nothing has changed since the days of Abraham, that we find the root of our own popular beliefs still living and putting forth new growths of fable; there that we reach the fountain-head of tradition, ere it has parted into the broken and conflicting currents that confuse it elsewhere.

It is, as we might naturally expect, in the arid lands, where moisture is more needed than heat as a fertilizer, that we find its principle received largest recognition in the primitive worship of nature under its dual aspect. Hence in Buddhist cosmogony, water is the active agent in the destruction and restoration of the universe through vast alternate cycles; since on its brooding surface forms the protoplasmic scum, whence by the potential energies of matter, the germs of all life are evolved once more. Its mysterious symbol—the Dragon of the Great Deep, typifying both the waters below, which are the cradle, and those above, which are the nurse of the earth—was, therefore, originally worshipped as the most beneficent of the nature powers, as he still is throughout China, where he is regarded as the dispenser of all happiness and prosperity.

In Aryan mythology, however, he is represented as requiring coercion to compel him to fulfil his functions; but it is in Persia, where the rival element of fire became the object of supreme worship that the Dragon, as distinguished from the serpent proper, is first definitively identified with the evil principle. In this form, Ahriman, striving to enter heaven, is cast down by Mithra, the strong Angel of the Sun, and the discomfited fiend is henceforward portrayed in the writhing monster. Here, too, he receives his familiar name, since in *Drug* the Zoroastrian fiend, or "deceitful one," we have, doubtless, the true etymology of *Draco*. It is noteworthy that in Persian mythology likewise the

shining divs of India, undergoing a like unfavourable transformation, become the malignant daevs, or devils of the West.

No longer personifying the beneficent rain-cloud, the copious largesse of nature, the dragon now assumes the attributes of the storm-cloud, the messenger of evil; its hail-scourges typified in his rending claws, its lightnings in his forked tongue and fiery breath. Thus metamorphosed, he takes his place in the ecclesiastical tradition of Europe as the antagonist of saint or archangel, while his older character as a mysterious presence in the waters still clings to him in the dim memories of legendary belief.

Meantime, the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean had adopted a new symbol for the generative power of moisture in the fish-goddess Derceto, or Athergatis * twin or consort of the Phœnician Dagon-Oannes. She plays the part of Vishnu as a deluge-conqueror, by draining the waters into a fissure near her temple at Hierapolis, but shares the dominion of her element with a group of lunar-goddesses. This dualism influences the primitive Greek conceptions of the rivers, portrayed on early coins as bull-headed snakes, the horns of Isis being thus grafted on the serpent-form. But the anthropomorphic tendencies of the Hellenic mind soon discarded all such monstrosities; bearded giants with stream-shedding urns, take the place of these river reptiles, the mermaid-goddess casts her serpent-slough to stand forth, dolphin-throned, as foam-born Aphrodite, and Naiads lave their gleaming limbs in the founts where the "laidly worm" had trailed his scaly rings. The dragon survives only in his Persian disguise as a foul monster to be combated, and has finally lost his place in the beneficent hierarchy of nature.

Though in the East and elsewhere he is frequently represented by his congener the serpent, the two types are only to be treated as identical where they stand for the same order of ideas, connecting them with aqueous symbolism,

* Gath in Arabic means to give rain.

and all other branches of serpent-worship must be put aside as entirely irrelevant to the true dragon-myth. The earliest development of the latter occurs in the great nature parables of the Vedic hymns, where the praises of Indra are chanted in his character of Vritrahan, the fiend-smiter, victorious over Ahi, the cloud-snake, and Vritra, the celestial dragon. He is here, identical with the Greek Jove, the "cloud compeller," and as lord of the firmament, coerces the inferior powers into the fulfilment of their functions. A few verses will show how transparent is the allegory.

"I will chant the exploits by which the fulminating Indra has shone of old. He has smitten Ahi, he has spread the waters over the earth, he has unchained the torrents of the celestial mountains.

"He has smitten Ahi who hid in the bosom of the celestial mountain, he has smitten him with the sounding bolt forged for him by Tvashtri, and the waters, like cows hastening to their stables have rushed towards the sea.

"Indra has smitten Vritra, the most misty of his foes, and the enemy of Indra with a humid dust has swollen the rivers."

"Thou art great, oh Indra! earth and heaven did freely concede thee sovereignty; after thou in thy might hadst slain Vritra, thou didst loose the streams which the dragon had swallowed.

"Thou didst smite the dragon which couched round the waters." †

We have here a vivid parable of that most striking of meteorological phenomena, the bursting of the monsoon on the plains of India, suggestive to the least imaginative observer of a celestial battle, in which the exchanges of electricity between the clouds resemble an artillery duel. The supreme importance of the event to the people whose very lives hang on its timely occurrence, might well make it the subject of their earliest national hymn.

Persian mythology repeats the same figure with variations, for in the Avesta, Thraetaona slays Azi Dahaka, the fiendish snake, "the three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed, the most dreadful Drug created by Angra Mainyu (Ahri-man)." Later legend disguises this malignant being as

* "Rig Veda." Traduit du Sanscrit par M. Langlois. Hymn xiii.

† "Der Rig Veda." Von Alfred Ludwig. Indra, iv. 24.

Zohak, from whose shoulders two serpents, each requiring the brain of a man for its daily food, sprang from the kiss of Ahriman. This human triple-headed dragon, after defeating Jemshid a solar hero (Shems is Arabic for sun), is in turn overthrown by Feridun, a synonym of Thraetaona, and bound to Mount Demavend to be released at the end of the world and slain by Keresasp, at once the Persian Hercules and the progenitor of the mediæval dragon-smiters.

The following versicles from the Psalms show how the same symbolism is used in the Hebrew Scriptures, as in other Oriental writings :

"Thou by thy strength didst make the sea firm ; Thou did'st crush the heads of the dragons in the waters.

"Thou hast broken the heads of the dragon ; Thou hast given him to be meat for the people of the Ethiopians ! *

"Thou hast broken up the fountains ; Thou hast dried up the Litan rivers (Psa. lxxiii.).

"Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons and all ye deeps (Psa. cxlviii. 7).

In the Book of Job the Vedic metaphor is clearly indicated in the following :

"His spirit hath adorned the heavens and His hand brought forth the winding serpent" (chap. xxvi.).

In amusing contrast with this lofty imagery is the Chinese popular version of the great atmospheric drama, materialized to the level of a religious puppet-play. For in seasons of drought, after Lung Wong, the dragon king, has been vainly invoked in due order of precedence by prefect, viceroy, and emperor, when he has proved obdurate after being carried in procession with banners inscribed as Wind, Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, and has withstood the touching spectacle of the desiccated ponds, measures of coercion are resorted to. Removed unceremoniously from

* Perhaps an allusion to the inundation of the Nile, breaking the heads of the dragon implying the loosing of the fountains.

his temple throne, in the spirit in which a Neapolitan lazaroni treats his patron saint, he is placed uncanopied in the blazing sun to be scorched into submission, or in Vedic language is exposed to the full effects of the wrath of Indra. Another mode of persuasion is the removal of the Tieh Pai, an iron plate kept in his sacred well at Han Tau, to Peking, where it is laid on the altar of the national gods until the desired result is obtained. His priests, too, are made to suffer for his misconduct, and the abbot of the Taouist monastery in the Dragon and Tiger Mountains is mulcted of his salary, if his prayers are unavailing. Official honours, on the other hand, are solemnly decreed to the dragon-fetish when he proves amenable, and his sanctuary, gazetted in 1867 to the title of "Holy Well of the Dragon God," received an increase of rank as "The Efficacious Answering Holy Well of the Dragon God," when, in 1871 the rain-compelling rites proved successful in averting a drought.

Such invocations are not confined to the far East, and M. Th. de la Villemarqué * tells how, as lately as August, 1835, all the inhabitants of Kon Kored (the Valley of the Fairies) in Brittany, went in procession with the cross at their head to pray for rain at the fountain of Baranton, in the forest of Broceliande, the scene, be it remembered, of Merlin's enchantment by the witch Vivien.

Even more largely than the great vaporous cloud-dragon, does the water-dragon or serpent, the guardian of the subterranean deeps, figure in ancient cosmogonies. In Scandinavian story, Jörmungand, the serpent of the Great Midgard, or central citadel of the universe, when flung into the sea by Odin, grew to such a size as with his tail in his mouth to encircle the whole world, corresponding thus to Oceanus, the earth-girdling river of the Greeks. The fabulous geography of Central Asia calls this portion of the earth Jamudvipa, the southern island in the great salt sea, whose centre is the Sarik Kul (Yellow Valley), or Kul i

* "Les Fées du Moyen Age." L. F. Alfred Maury.

Pamir Kulan, Lake of the Great Pamir. This sheet of water, termed lake Anavatapta, and embellished with golden sands, and shores of gold and silver, crystal and lapis lazuli, is the residence of the Bodhisattva of the great universe, incarnated in the form of a Naga raja, or dragon king, who distributes the beneficent waters thence to enrich Jamudvipa. From the west side he pours the Ganges (Kiang Kia), through the mouth of a silver ox, to the south-eastern sea; from the south the Sind (Sindhu), through the jaws of a golden elephant, to the south-western sea; from the west the Oxus (Po tsu), through a horse of lapis lazuli, to the north-western sea (Aral or Caspian); and from the north, through a lion of crystal, to the north-eastern sea, the Si-to, probably the Zerefshan, or Distributor of Gold, part of whose waters flowing beneath the Tsih Mountains, give rise to the Hwangho, originally fabled to have had its source in the Milky Way, the Tien-ho, or Heavenly River of the Chinese.

This lake is the great centre of Asiatic dragon myths, which cluster most thickly on the slopes of the Pamir plateau. The early folk-lore of this region is richly illustrated for us by the records of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, sent out, mainly between the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, to collect relics and documents connected with the founder of their religion, in the countries which had been hallowed by his earthly presence. The wanderings of Hiuen Tsiang, one of their number, extending over the years A.D. 629-645, led him across Mongolia to Tashkend, thence to India, and back over the Pamir plateau by way of Kashgaria and Khotan. This Chinese Herodotus, whose travels are rendered accessible to English readers in Mr. Beal's excellent translation,* was a minute chronicler of local traditions, and his narrative is a mine of early Asiatic folk-lore. Dragon fables innumerable abound in its

* "Buddhist Records of the Western World." Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) by Samuel Beal. 1884.

pages, for every stream and source had its mythical inhabitant with separate story, and individual peculiarities. Endowed universally with the power of human metamorphosis, these amphibious beings are generally condemned to their present unprepossessing shape in penance for their evil Karma, or sum of guilt accumulated through previous existences. This they are generally desirous of expiating by religious observances, whence they are of a pious turn of mind, and as covetous of relics as the devout monks of the Middle Ages. Thus the poisonous Nagas (water-serpents or dragons), dwelling in the caverns and clefts along the Indus are said to be inimical to travellers who seek to cross the river with gems, precious merchandize, or especially relics of Buddha, and raise storms and disturbances to engulf their boats and secure their treasures.

The same peculiarity is illustrated by the story of a Sramana or Buddhist novice, who, on his homeward journey from Kashmir, being forcibly captured by a troop of wild elephants that he might render surgical aid to one of their wounded fellows, was rewarded for his service by obsequious attentions from the herd, and the present of a golden casket containing a tooth of Buddha. This treasure he was compelled to surrender ere long, as it was thrown overboard in crossing a river to appease the Nagas, who, in their desire to obtain possession of it, raised a furious storm, and would otherwise have wrecked the boat. They were not, however, left in permanent enjoyment of their prize, for the Sramana devoted himself to a course of study in India in order to acquire the requisite spells for exorcising dragons, and, returning a master of this valuable art, recovered the relic, and placed it in a fitting shrine on the bank of the river.

Another pious dragon, who daily assumed human form and emerged from his tank to pay his devotions to the tope of Ramagrama, actually saved this shrine from desecration at the hands of the great Asoka raja, called the "devo of devos" and "Lord of all Jamudvipa." During his reign,

some time in the third century B.C., this potentate came to the tope with the intention of removing the relics, but desisted on the remonstrances of the Naga, who appealed to him in the following words: "Because of my evil *karma* I have received this Naga body; by religious service to these *sariras* (relics) of Buddha, I desire to efface my guilt." The spot where this penitent issued from the lake was marked by an inscription still visible in the time of Hiuen Tsiang.

The belief that the Indian Brahmans possessed secrets for cowing and restraining dragons is the foundation of another of these tales. The guardian spirit of a lake in the Pamir highlands was in this case impelled, when in evil mood, to slay, by uttering a spell, a merchant who had lain down to sleep on the lake-shore. Hereupon the king of the country, leaving his dominions in charge of his son, went to Udyana (Northern India) to learn the secrets of Brahminical lore. After four years' absence he returned, "and ensconced by the lake, he enchanted the dragon, and lo! the dragon was changed into a man, who, deeply sensible of his wickedness, approached the king. The king immediately banished him from the Tsung Ling Mountains, more than a thousand li from the lake." The king reigning when this was written (about A.D. 518) was said to be the thirteenth from this monarch.

The folk-lore of the Valley of Kashmir points to its having been formerly a lake, the abode of a dragon king. The latter was beguiled into granting the prayer of an Arhat, or holy sage, who requested him to withdraw the water from a spot in the centre large enough for him to kneel on, and then miraculously increased the size of his body until the whole valley was drained. The Naga, banished to a neighbouring lake, obtained a promise that his old domain should be restored to him when the law of Buddha should cease, and the hidden springs are then expected to bubble up and submerge the country once more.

A series of disastrous inundations, ascribed to Aravolo,

a furious Naga king, were devastating the same valley in B.C. 253, when Majhantika, a Buddhist missionary, arrived opportunely, and converted him by his preaching. The dragon king placed the holy man on a gem-set throne, and stood by reverentially fanning him, while the neighbouring people who had come with offerings to appease the destroyer's wrath, transferred their homage to the successful preacher. A population of 84,000 Nagas (doubtless people of the wild hill-tribes) are said to have been converted at this time in the Himalaya region.

Buddha was himself a great dragon-queller, and in Ceylon his foot-prints were long shown on two hills several leagues apart, where they were left after a victory over one of the most refractory of the tribe. The Nagas were, however, more frequently among his reverential adorers; two dragon kings washed his body immediately after his birth, in a well which gushed out on the spot; and in a later phase of his manifold existence, the blind dragon Muchilinda coiled round him for seven days in token of respect.

Again, when he flung his golden rice-bowl into the river Neranjara,* it flew upstream for eighty cubits against the current, and then dived into the whirlpool where was situated the palace of the Kala Naga raja, or Black Snake king. There it struck with a resonant clangour against the bowls of the two previous Buddhas, whereupon the snake king exclaimed: "Yesterday a Buddha arose; to-day another has arisen!" and began to sing his praises in many hundred stanzas of verse. But the wrath of the angel Mara, the Buddhist Lucifer, was aroused against the newly-risen "Light of Asia," and sounding the drum called "Satan's War-cry," and mounting his elephant "Girded with Mountains," he advanced at the head of his legions to destroy him. The angelic powers fled at his approach, and the Great Black One dived into the earth to Manjerika, the palace of the Nagas, five hundred leagues in length, where he

* "Jatakas. Buddhist Birth Stories." By T. W. Rhys Davids.

cowered on the earth covering his face with his hands. Buddha, thus deserted, triumphed by moral force alone, routing his foes by an enumeration of the cardinal virtues practised by him, when his followers the Nagas, the winged creatures, the angels and archangels returned to do him homage at the foot of the mystic bo-tree.

The Cavern of the Shadow in Nagarahara, not far from Cabul, is so called because Buddha left there his luminous halo, visible to those who pray with sufficient fervour, as a reminder to the evil Naga, Gopala, of his promise of amendment. Originally a shepherd lad, whose function was to supply the king with milk and cream, this dragon deliberately sought his transformation in order to revenge himself for a rebuke drawn on him by dereliction of duty. Having offered up flowers and prayers with this intention, he flung himself down a precipice, and so attained his evil desire of becoming a destructive dragon to afflict the king and people. He was induced to forego his revenge by the mild preaching of Buddha, who, in answer to his convert's request for his abiding presence, left him the miraculous emanation described.

A somewhat similar story is told of the Naga Upalala, guardian of the source of the Subhavasta, now the Sveti River. Endowed, during his life as a man named King Ki, with power over evil dragons, he restrained them from afflicting the country in consideration of a yearly tribute of a peck of grain from each household. The cessation of these offerings induced him to pray that he himself might be turned into a poisonous dragon in order to destroy the crops, and accordingly on his death he became the source of a stream which carried havoc everywhere. Buddha's commands were laid upon him to desist, but on his representation that his whole sustenance was drawn from the fields of men, he was permitted to take every twelfth harvest, and the Sveti river consequently overflows once in a dozen years.

These two legends are apparently fables founded on fact, and the last, probably veils an incident no more

miraculous than the default or diversion of a tax for the repair of dykes and sluices, with the consequent damage to cultivation. To the same class of historical myths belongs the next story as well, dragon-form being here, too, voluntarily assumed for the gratification of an evil passion.

A lake on the summit of the Hindu Khush, where prayers were habitually offered up for rain or fine weather, was its scene. Hither a saintly devotee from India was accustomed to repair daily, air-borne on his mat, to enjoy the hospitality of a well-disposed dragon, who regaled him with celestial food of ambrosial flavour. A novice, impelled by curiosity to share his journey, did so by hanging on surreptitiously to the mat, but was so enraged on finding himself treated only to common earthly food, while his master's rice-bowl, handed to him to wash, smelt of the banquet of the gods, that he prayed to be metamorphosed into a Naga to gratify his revenge. He accordingly slew his host, took possession of his palace, and, summoning all the other Nagas to his assistance, became a furious Storm King, the formidable centre of atmospheric disturbances. To quell his power Kanishka raja, the ruler of the country, led his soldiers to the foot of the Snowy Mountains, where the wily Naga, meeting him in the form of a Brahman, sought to deter him from his enterprize. In the course of his address he described as follows the prerogatives of the Naga: "He rides on the clouds, drives the winds, passes through space, and glides over the waters; no human power can restrain him." The raja persevered, and, in the battle with the elements which ensued, conquered by miraculous assistance. Flames arose from his shoulders, "the dragon fled, the winds hushed, the mists were melted, and the clouds were scattered."

The Naga submitted, but, with a prudent self-distrust, desired the king, lest his evil nature should tempt him to relapse, to have a look-out kept on the mountain-top, and if it were seen to be black with clouds, to let the *ghantu* (cymbal or drum) be sounded in the neighbouring convent,

when he would be recalled to a sense of his duty. "People look out for the clouds and mists on the mountain-top to this day," concludes the traveller.

Among innumerable lakes and tanks, where prayers were offered for fine weather, accompanied often with precious offerings cast in for the presiding genius, the lotus-covered pond of Elapatra, the dragon king of Taxila, is the most noteworthy. In his human life a Bikshu who had destroyed an Elapatra-tree, this Naga, meeting Buddha near Benares, addressed him with the question, "In what space of time shall I be delivered from this dragon's body?"

To this water-shrine the Shamans and people repaired in Hiuen Tsiang's day to pray for fine weather, which they obtained "on cracking their fingers;" and to the well of Hassan Abdul, its modern representative, they still flocked for the same purpose at the date of General Cunningham's visit in 1863. The sacred serpent, which according to Maximinius of Tyre was shown to Alexander the Great by Taxilus as the protecting deity of this country, was the embodiment of the same superstition.

The power of human transformation invariably attributed to dragons, has led to their figuring as mythical ancestors of some of the royal houses of India. Thus Pundarika Nag in order to perpetuate the dragon race, when threatened with extinction by a powerful incantation prepared by a hostile raja, took human form, and married Parvati, the beautiful daughter of a Brahman. The indiscreet questions of his bride as to the cause of the forked tongue and venomous breath, which still betrayed his former nature, compelled him, as in so many fairy-tales, to leave her for ever, and he vanished into a pool, returning occasionally to watch over his infant son in the shape of a hooded snake. The latter is still the crest of the princely house of Chutia Nagpor, who boast of their long descent from this reptile progenitor.

A lake on the summit of the Lan-po-lu Mountain was the scene of a veritable dragon romance, for hither one of

the Sakya princes, on their expulsion by the usurper Virudhaka, was transported by a mysterious goose, a sacred bird in Brahminical lore, who here plays the part of Lohengrin's swan, or the roc of the "Arabian Nights," in conveying the hero to his love. For a Naga maiden seeing him sleeping by the lake, takes human form to caress him, and wakes him by stroking his hair. His spiritual merit, as one of the sacred race of Buddha, enables him to deliver her permanently from the foul shape imposed as the penalty of previous lives of guilt, and as he consents to marry her, she like Undine attains through human love to human perfection. The wedding-feast is held with much rejoicing in the Naga raja's palace, but the bridegroom, disgusted at the dragon-forms of his new kinsfolk, is only bribed to fulfil his engagement by the promise of the sovereignty of the country (Udyana).

A magic sword and a casket covered with white camlet are the fairy-gifts which secure this end, the reigning king being treacherously slain with the former, while offered the latter as a present. The submission of his subjects follows, on the mystic weapon being brandished by its owner with the declaration, "This sword was given me by a holy Naga wherewith to punish the contumelious and subdue the arrogant."

The coveted kingdom thus secured, the prince's domestic happiness was interrupted by a curious incident. Being evidently fastidious as to external monstrosities, he took umbrage at the nightly appearance on the head of his sleeping bride of the ninefold cobra-headed hood of the Naga, a token that the transgressions of her former states of being were not yet atoned for, and with his sword unceremoniously shore off the unsightly dragon-crest. The lady, in reproaching him for his hasty surgery, told him he had entailed an inheritance of headache on his descendants, a curse which was supposed to have been literally fulfilled. The magic sword in this legend recalls the Arthurian Excalibur, like it the gift of the lake spirits, while Uttarasena,

the name of the Sakya hero's self, suggests that of Uthyr, the British dragon-prince.

The origin of the great Dragon Boat Festival of China, held about the 18th of June, is curiously elucidated by one of these Central Asian sagas. The Lung Shun, dragon boats, carved in imitation of the fantastic monster, and from 50 to 100 feet long, with as many as ninety rowers each, appear on this occasion only, when they form quaint and picturesque processions on all the creeks and rivers. The celebration is explained as a commemoration of Wat Yuen, a righteous minister who drowned himself in the river Meklo in despair at unmerited disgrace. The offerings of rice and other trifles intended for his shade are tied up in bamboo leaves with thread of five different colours, his ghost having once appeared to request that these precautions might be taken, to protect them from the rapacity of a reptile, who otherwise would intercept and devour them.

The utter inadequacy of a simple case of suicide to explain a great national solemnity, shows that we have here but a mutilated version of the story, which we recognize in more complete form in the pages of Hiuen Tsiang. According to him a river about 200 li to the south-east of the capital of Khotan (probably the Karakash, now dried up) was the scene of the self-immolation of a minister under the following circumstances. A sudden failure of the stream having threatened to deprive the land of irrigation, the king was advised by his ghostly counsellor that the dragon who caused the stoppage of the waters must be sought out and propitiated.

"Then the king," continued our author, "returned and offered sacrifice to the river-dragon. Suddenly a woman emerged from the stream, and advancing said to him: 'My lord is just dead, and there is no one to issue orders; and this is the reason why the current of the stream is arrested, and the husbandmen have lost their usual profits. If your Majesty will choose from your kingdom a minister of state

of noble family, and give him to me as a husband, then he may order the stream to flow as before.'"

A patriotic minister volunteers to sacrifice himself for the good of the people, and clad in white robes, mounts a white horse and enters the stream, which at a stroke of his whip opens to receive him. He is seen no more, but the white horse reappears bearing a drum, which a letter from the faithful minister directs may be attached to the walls of the capital, when on the approach of an enemy it will spontaneously sound the alarm.

"The river," concludes the traveller, "then began to flow, and down to the present time has caused continued advantage to the people. Many years and months have elapsed since then, and the place where the dragon-drum was hung has long since disappeared, but the ruined convent by the drum-lake still remains, only it has no priests and is deserted."

It is evident, not only that the Chinese tale is a garbled version of this strange myth, but that we have in both the reminiscence of a human sacrifice, either really voluntary, or fabled so as to disguise its atrocity. Such offerings to water-demons were by no means uncommon, but it was more generally a maiden who was claimed as bride for the dragon king, than, as in this case, a man to mate with his widow. A girl was in ancient times thus annually sacrificed to the Nile to secure its rising, and the ceremony is still performed with a clay figure, termed *Aroussa-en-Nil*, the Bride of the Nile. The imperfect tradition handed down of the self-immolation of Quintus Curtius probably registers a similar event.

The solemn sacrifice of a white horse to the water-demons is still usual in China when their wrath has been shown by many cases of drowning. Xerxes, we are told, sacrificed white horses to the River Strymon, and the animal was fabled to have been created by Neptune, an idea probably suggested by the foam-crested waves which almost mimic its form. The same allusion appears in the white

*steed ridden by the victim minister in the above tale, and in the snowy charger on which O'Donoghue, the Irish chieftain, rises every May morning from the Lake of Killarney.

The widespread custom of burying victims under the foundations of cities or bridges seems to have been due to a desire to propitiate the subterranean dragons, whose restless movements might else overthrow the building. This idea is traceable in the fable of Merlin, who as a child was selected, in consequence of his demon origin, to cement with his blood the walls of the great castle built by Vortigern on Salisbury Plain, which were overthrown by night as fast as constructed by day. The elfin-child, after giving many proofs of supernatural wisdom, bade the workmen dig a yard under the foundations, when they would come to swift-running water and two great stones, beneath which were imprisoned two mighty dragons, whose nightly combats shook down the building. The two monsters, one red, the other milk-white and two-headed, were accordingly released, and the victory of the latter in the dreadful duel which ensued, prefigured the coming triumph of Uthyr Pendragon and his brother Auriliasbrasias over Vortigern himself. A realistic explanation of this fable might be found in the draining of the hidden springs which undermined the foundations, by the advice of the sage. The burial of victims beneath the gates of Mandalay is said to have taken place very shortly before the British annexation of Burma, the probable association of this custom with dragon-rites being indicated by the carefully sealed water jars buried simultaneously, and examined from time to time, to test by their condition the continued efficacy of the barbarous spell.

The early European belief in the possible confinement of evil spirits in wells, embodied in the story of Undine, is a living article of faith under official sanction in China. Here, in the courtyard of the Yamen of Shu-hing-fu, is a well closed with huge stones, to which each succeeding prefect has for centuries affixed his seal of office, in order to per-

petuate the imprisonment of an evil dragon Kou Lung, thrust down there by one of their predecessors, after he had long afflicted the country with plagues and earthquakes.

The persistence with which his aqueous origin still clings to the western dragon is evident from a glance at some of the most famous of his manifestations. Thus a stream gushed forth on the spot where Apollo slew the Python; the Theban dragon conquered by Cadmus dwelt near a well; the Lernean Hydra, watery in name and residence, haunted a marsh; the dragon of the Hesperides was called Ladon, after a river in the Peleponnesus; and the dragon of St. George was chiefly obnoxious because, like a modern rate collector, he cut off the people from their water supply.

The dragons of the Rhone were believed, according to Gervasius of Tilbury, to be visible on clear nights disporting themselves in human form in the depths beneath the Castle of Tarascon, the scene of St. Martha's victory over the legendary monster. Floating on the surface, in the form of golden rings or goblets, they enticed the women washing linen on the banks to lean over the water, when they carried them off to act as nurses to their children.

Similar superstitions survive even at the present day,* as in the Tyrol, where an intermittent stream, the Bella in Krain, is believed to be held back by a dragon, and the saying is current where a spring escapes from the rock, that "the dragon has eaten his way out." The periodicity of the Dragon Well near Jerusalem, subterraneously connected, it is conjectured, with the Pool of Bethesda, is ascribed to the drinking of the water by the dragon; and in Malta, the noise made by the spring Dragonara in issuing from its cavern-source, is attributed to the snorting or blowing of the mythical monster.

* Our indebtedness to the East for our popular customs is illustrated by the fact that the English housemaid, when she hastens to lower the blinds immediately on lighting the fire, is fulfilling a Zoroastrian precept, according to which it is a mortal sin to let the sun shine on a fire, even through a hole.

The Scandinavian dragon, in his capacity of treasure-warden, which has supplied a figurative name for gold known as *Wurm Belt*, "the Worm's Couch," has usurped the function of another fabled beast. The gold-guarding griffins, who were robbed of their hoards by the Aramaspians, a one-eyed people inhabiting the wilds of Scythia, are familiar to readers of Herodotus, while in Oriental mythology, the yakshis, a separate class of demons or spirits, were especially devoted to the guardianship of hidden treasure.

From the griffin, too, a hybrid of lion and eagle, the western dragon has probably borrowed his wings, which Eastern art does not usually assign to him. In Indian sculpture, the Nāga appears either as a true snake, or in human form, with a cobra-like hood or canopy, dividing into five, seven, or nine serpent heads, as his distinguishing appendage. In the pages of Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," is reproduced a curious relief of a Naga and Nagni, man and woman from the waist up, but with serpent extremities intertwined in an elaborate series of true lover's knots.

The dragon in China, in a form probably originally suggested by the crocodile, is not only the Imperial cognizance, but the all-pervading motive of every branch of decorative art. He writhes round the pillars of the temples and rears rampant on their recurving eaves; claws and coils on wall and banner; and in emerald or azure, in gold or vermilion, trails his glowing convolutions on tile and panel, on porcelain and brocade. Yet his elemental character as the child of the mists, the guardian of the deeps, is rarely lost sight of, and he is either seen riding the clouds with voluminous spires that mark and melt into their swelling folds, or emergent from waves in vaporous volutes like an embodied exhalation. Thus treated, he is at once the most impressive of the fantastic conceptions of art, and the most vivid personification of the imperishable faiths of the East.

E. M. CLERKE.

THE SHIRLEY BROTHERS.

IN the latter half of the sixteenth century three sons, all of whom attained high distinction, were born to Sir Thomas Sherley, or Shirley, Knt., of Wistneston, or Wiston, in the county of Sussex. Their father held for many years the lucrative post of Her Majesty's Treasurer at Wars, while their mother was a daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp, Knt. The Shirleys were nearly allied to some of the noblest families in the land, and even laid claim to royal blood. However that might be, they were themselves men of mark and worthy to live in the spacious times of Queen Elizabeth. As was usual with adventurers of that stamp, they encountered very varying fortunes, and met with their full share of hardships, danger, and extreme suffering. They do not appear, however, to have possessed exceptional talents of any kind. They were certainly deficient in judgment. The world at large, and especially their own country, could very well have dispensed with their existence. Their success, such as it was, must be chiefly ascribed to a dashing valour of a knight-errant character. At the same time they were something better than mere swashbucklers. They were men of the sword above all things; but their minds dwelt upon the acquisition of fame rather than of vulgar wealth, for they lavished upon others the rich guerdons won by their own courage and prowess. Had they lived in our own times they would have been sportsmen and explorers, and might perchance have written the story of their exploits for the instruction and amusement of subscribers to circulating libraries. As it was, their restless disposition made them wanderers over the face of the earth, without any benefit to their country, and with no permanent advantage to themselves.

Thomas, the eldest of the three, was slow to develop the qualities which had already gained singular eminence for his younger brothers. In his quaint manner Fuller excuses himself for naming him the last " (though the eldest son of his father), because last appearing in the world, men's activity not always the method of the register. As the trophies of Miltiades," he continues, " would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so the achievements of his younger brethren gave an alarm unto his spirit. He was ashamed to see them worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered on the stalk he grew on." It must not be supposed, however, that he had been content to sit at home at ease, taxing the hospitality of his open-handed father. On the contrary, he had been knighted by Lord Willoughby for his conspicuous bravery in the Low Countries; but it was not until the opening of the seventeenth century that he went forth in quest of adventures on his own account. His enterprise was throughout most unfortunate. He had fitted out three vessels at Florence for the purpose of making war upon the Turks, or rather in the hope of capturing their argosies, and plundering their islands and seaports. He was, in short, a privateer, if not actually a pirate. He began, however, very imprudently, for he closed with a ship much bigger than any of his own, and though he succeeded in carrying her, it was with the loss of a hundred of his own hirelings. Thereupon a mutiny broke out, and he was abandoned by two of his vessels, their crews upbraiding him for meddling with an enemy as strong as himself. He had great trouble, indeed, in pacifying his own crew, and it was only through the strenuous exertions of his officers that he prevailed upon them to make a descent upon a Turkish island, apparently defenceless, and believed to be full of movable plunder. The Greek inhabitants, however, declined to be tamely despoiled of their property, and after a brief skirmish drove their assailants in headlong flight to the shore. Sir Thomas Shirley and two of his

people, who stood firm, were speedily overpowered and marched off to the town, where they were treated with great barbarity. After a month's detention they were sent across to Negropont in an open boat, and there thrown into a loathsome dungeon, and allowed only bread and water from March 20, 1602, to June 25, 1603—the English consul at Patras paying not the slightest attention to their piteous appeals. The Admiral Bashaw, however, being informed that the prisoners were able to pay a heavy ransom, ordered their removal to Constantinople, a land journey of five hundred miles, accomplished in twelve days of intense misery. On their arrival at Constantinople, Sir Thomas Shirley was taken before the Admiral Bashaw, who set before him the alternative of losing his head or of redeeming his life and liberty by the payment of 50,000 sequins. The unfortunate man protested his inability to procure more than 12,000, and was sent back to prison to be treated with still greater cruelty than before. At a subsequent audience the Bashaw ordered his head to be struck off, but presently changing his mind caused him to be confined in a horrible den, where he was visited by a Jew, who persuaded him to offer 40,000 sequins at a long date, as many things might happen in the interval. The terms were accepted, and for a brief space his captivity was rendered less painful. Though perfectly aware of the prisoner's name and quality, the English ambassador declined to interfere on his behalf, for the Turk was then the terror of Europe, and a name to conjure with. About the season of Michaelmas the Bashaw was hanged, when it was somehow discovered that Sir Thomas was actually the captive of the Great Turk, who promised him his release on the morrow, a Thursday; but the ambassador neglected to take the formal steps to procure his discharge, and on the following Sunday the gracious order was cancelled. About a fortnight afterwards the Great Turk himself died, and was succeeded by his son, a boy only fourteen years of age. Sir Thomas Shirley and his

two fellow-prisoners were accordingly brought before the Regent, or Protector, who ordered all three to be led away to instant execution. This time they owed their lives to the Interpreter to the Venetian Embassy, and were carried off to the Seven Towers. Piqued, perhaps, by the successful intervention of a subordinate official in a foreign embassy, the English ambassador at last ventured to interpose his good offices; but all that he gained by his tardy interference was the transfer of the three prisoners to a small shed, where they suffered such extremities from cold and starvation that one of the number died a miserable death. Deliverance at length came through the repeated intercession of James I., while old Sir Thomas Shirley contrived that a small sum of money should reach the hands of his ill-fated son. Considerable delay, however, still ensued, and it was not until December 6, 1605, that his captivity came to an end—having commenced on January 15, 1602. The inconsequent character of the man is illustrated by his inconceivable fatuity and heedlessness in remaining at Constantinople until the following month of February, in order to “solace” himself after his long and rigorous confinement. Eventually he took ship for Naples, and in due time found himself once more beneath the roof of his aged father in Sussex. But the monotony of provincial life was evidently unsuited to his restless disposition, for in the third volume of Lodge’s “Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners” there occurs a letter from Rowland Whyte to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated September 17, 1607, in which it is stated: “Young Sir Thomas Shirley was committed to the Tower; some say it was for over-busyng himself with the traffic of Constantinople, to have brought it into Venice and the Florentine territories; but, be that as it will, he is fast and forthcoming.” And there we must take leave of him.

Far more remarkable was the career of the second son,

Anthony, who was educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1581, and in the following November became Probationer Fellow of All Souls College; but instead of waiting for his M.A. degree, he accepted the command of a body of English troops, and went off to the Low Countries. He is reported to have been present at the battle of Zutphen in 1586, and to have subsequently taken service under the Earl of Essex, whom he accompanied on his French expedition, in which he attracted the favourable notice of Henri Quatre, and received the Order of St. Michael. The feminine jealousy of Elizabeth, however, was aroused by this gracious act. "I will not," she said, "have my sheep marked with a strange brand; nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd." Shirley himself was safely lodged in the Fleet Prison, while inquiries were instituted into the circumstances of the case, and in the end was deprived of his well-earned distinction, though he retained the powerful protection of the Queen's favourite. It was mainly through the patronage and substantial co-operation of the Earl of Essex that Shirley was enabled to fit out his unlucky expedition against the island of St. Thomé, being anxious, it was whispered, to escape from the disagreeable society of his wife Frances, sister of Sir Robert Hodnet, Knt., of Vernon. Misfortunes dogged his steps from the beginning to the end. Off the coast of Guinea his little squadron was assailed by a heavy downpour of stinking, putrid rain, which bred maggots in men's clothes and in the oakum between the planks of the deck. Dismayed by this singular phenomenon the expedition turned aside to St. Jago, which was captured by 280 men, and held for forty-eight hours against 3,000 Portuguese. Various islands were then visited to very little purpose; but at Sta Martha he was deserted by one of his ships, which sailed away for home with a prize barque, captured at St. Jago. The conquest of Jamaica was accomplished without opposition, though Shirley's force was too feeble to

retain possession of the island. He then proposed to make for Newfoundland, and, after refitting his vessels, to run down the coast to the Straits of Magellan and so encompass the globe before returning to England. This spirited project did not, however, commend itself to his undisciplined and unseamanlike followers, who suddenly withdrew from his command and set all sail for home, with the exception of the crew of his own ship, the *Admiral*. By the time he reached Newfoundland his stores were completely exhausted, and no choice was left but to revictual his ship, and return to England, where he arrived in time to join Essex's expedition against Cadiz. As Fuller remarks:

"Now, although some behold his voyage begun with more courage than counsel, carried on with more valour than advice, and coming off with more honour than profit to himself or the nation (the Spaniard being rather frightened than harmed, rather braved than frightened therewith); yet impartial judgments, who measure not worth by success, justly allow it a prime place amongst the probable (though not prosperous) English adventures."

Anthony Shirley also accompanied his patron to Ireland, where he received from him the honour of knighthood. In the winter of 1598-9 he was despatched by Essex, in command of "divers soldiers of approved valour," to the assistance of Don Cesare d'Este, illegitimate son of the late Duke of Ferrara, but before he could reach the scene of disturbance the Pope and the Pretender had arrived at an understanding to their mutual satisfaction. This abortive enterprise, however, proved the starting-point of his actual career. In consequence of letters written by Sir Anthony Shirley from Venice, the Earl of Essex supplied him with funds to enable him to proceed to Persia with the view of inducing the Sophi to make common cause with the Christian Powers in waging war upon the Turk. It appears that Sir Anthony had also some private ends to serve, for which purpose he collected considerable funds and obtained letters of credit to the Company of Merchants established at Aleppo. During his

three months' stay at Venice, Sir Anthony sent his younger brother Robert on a complimentary visit to the Duke of Florence, who bestowed upon him a gold chain valued at 1,600 French crowns. He had also much conversation with certain Persian merchants, who were in the habit of repairing to Venice to procure English cloth, linen, and wool for the Sophi. He had likewise the good fortune to engage the services of one Angelo, who professed to speak twenty-four languages, and had just returned from Persia; and who acquitted himself as a faithful servant and experienced traveller.

Attended by a retinue of twenty-five adventurers of different nationalities, but for the most part of gentle birth, Sir Anthony Shirley embarked, towards the end of May, 1599, on board a Venetian ship, the *Morisell*, bound for Scanderoon. In consequence, however, of adverse winds it was not until the twenty-fifth day that Zante was reached, not more than half way. A greater mischance, moreover, befell the mission through its chief's somewhat imprudent loyalty. One of the passengers having spoken disparagingly of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Anthony caused him to be laid on the deck and beaten by one of his humblest menials. Such a masterful proceeding created quite a commotion among the other passengers, supported by the captain and crew. For a brief space it seemed as if order could only be restored after greater disorder, but the 250 malcontents were cowed by the resolute attitude of Sir A. Shirley's associates. Taking advantage of the momentary pause, three Armenian merchants interposed their mediation and prevented actual strife. At Zante the adventurers went on shore in a body to purchase provisions, and in their absence the captain landed their luggage and effects, and threatened to open fire upon them if they attempted to return on board. As the Turkish Governor of the island refused to give them any redress they were constrained to remain there ten days—hospitably entertained by the English merchants—until a “caramosall” could be en-

gaged to convey them to Candia. Having lost their rudder and sustained some serious injuries by coming into collision with another vessel, they were detained in Candia some nine days, during which they were feasted by one of the two Governors, who was a Greek, while the inhabitants did all in their power to make their visit enjoyable.* There was much music and dancing and merriment, the effect of which is just a little spoilt by the cynical remark that strangers rarely landed on that island, and were therefore certain of a joyous welcome. The next halt was at Cyprus, "a most ruined place," under Turkish government. No remains of its ancient splendour were to be seen even at Paphos—respectable dwelling-houses being extremely scarce. The inhabitants were slaves to cruel taskmasters, though they might easily have mastered their persecutors, who did not exceed four thousand. The wanderers for their part had no reason to complain, for the Turkish Governor went off to see them with a present of wine and fruits. From Cyprus they sailed to Tarabulus, or Tripoli, where they were placed in great danger through the treachery of a Portuguese factor, a passenger in the *Morizell*, then lying in the harbour, who assured the Governor that Sir Anthony and his comrades were pirates, in possession of many valuable jewels, and advised him to string them up by the neck. The Turk was pleased alike by the information and the counsel, and not only refused to listen to Angelo's explanations, but loaded him with irons. Fortunately the Armenians again came forward to the rescue of their fellow-Christians, and persuaded the Governor to spare their lives and accept a ransom. Impatient of further delay, Sir Anthony engaged a fishing-boat to convey his party to Scanderoon, or Alexandretta, but they were overtaken by a storm, and for six days were buffeted about by winds and waves, despairing of their lives, and destitute of all nourishment save water and tobacco. The skipper fortunately mistook the mouth of the Orontes for the entrance to the harbour of Scanderoon, and thereby escaped a Turkish

pirate who was cruising in those waters, and had just captured another passenger-boat and massacred every soul on board. As it was, the adventurers sailed in safety up the Orontes, and were glad when they stood once more on dry land, "being almost all of us spent for want of victuals." But they were still far enough from the end of their troubles. About two miles distant from their point of disembarkation there was a small town held by a Spahi, or Turkish soldier, who soon made his appearance with a party of janisaries. At first the unwelcome visitors were tolerably civil and well conducted, but their cupidity gained the upper hand of their courtesy, and they presently began to pull about the travellers' goods and chattels, and even to offer personal violence, which could not be reciprocated under pain of losing the right arm, or of accepting Islam. The ruffians even threatened to carry off Sir Anthony's page, but were daunted by his bold aspect, and "in the end, because we would be quit of uncivil pagans, they were content to take twelve pieces of gold, which be called in Venice chiqueens, and so they let us go." Finally, riding on camels and asses, they set out for Antioch, where they alighted on the third day.

At Antioch they were fortunate in having for their fellow-lodgers two janisaries, Hungarian renegades, who still retained a certain respect for the Christian religion, and accordingly showed much kindness to the strangers. After remaining three days in that historic city, they started for Aleppo, under the protection of a caravan, as the road was said to be infested by a band of two hundred robbers. On the third day of the march the leader of the caravan asked Sir Anthony for six crowns, in order to hire sixteen stout villagers, as he expected to be attacked on the following day. He returned, however, with only one villager, whom he represented as equal to any sixteen, for he had once encountered and put to flight that number of men. Aleppo was reached in six days without molestation. There also they were grossly insulted and buffeted by the Turks unless

they chanced to be accompanied by a janisary. One day, George Manwaring, one of the narrators of this expedition, happened to meet a well-dressed Turk, who seized him by an ear, which every now and then he wrung maliciously, and so led him up and down the streets for the space of an hour, the common people spitting at and stoning him the while. At last, "because I would not laugh at my departure from him, he gave me such a blow with a staff that did strike me to the ground." On his return to Consul Colthurst's house, Manwaring informed the janisary at the gate in what manner he had been treated, who bade him go with him and point out his assailant. They soon came upon the Turk sitting with his father and some friends, not one of whom took his part when the janisary flung him on the ground and showered upon him a score of blows on the legs and feet with such severity that he was unable to walk, or even to stand. This Turk was a well-to-do individual, wearing a gown of crimson velvet over an undercoat of cloth of gold; but no civilian dared to oppose the janisaries, who appropriated without payment food for themselves and forage for their horses, and helped themselves with impunity to whatever they coveted. As a rule they were especially inhuman towards Jews and Christians, by way of illustrating their zeal for their new-found faith. Manwaring remarks that at Aleppo "they have a certain kind of drink which they call coffee; it is made of an Italian seed; they drink it extreme hot; it is nothing toothsome, nor hath any good smell, but it is very wholesome. As in England we used to go to the tavern to pass away the time in friendly meeting, so they have very fair houses where this coffee is sold; thither gentlemen and gallants resort daily." The notion that the coffee-berry was an Italian seed seems to point to the Italians, probably the Venetians, as its importers from Alexandria. Another spectacle to be witnessed in Aleppo grated sorely on the feelings of the chivalrous Englishman. "You shall also see Christians," he says, "sold in their markets, both men, women, and

children, like as they were sheep or beasts ; which did grieve me very much." At the corner of one of the streets there sat a short, fat Turk, without a scrap of clothing on his person, and holding in his hand a little iron spit. This santon was revered as a great prophet, to whom the people, particularly the female portion, resorted in their troubles. It was believed that whosoever he pierced to death with this sharp-pointed instrument was sure of being received into Paradise. During the five or six weeks the Mission tarried in Aleppo three or four persons were thus suddenly dismissed to Mussulman beatitude.

At Aleppo Sir Anthony Shirley purchased a considerable quantity of cloth of gold, and twelve cups enriched with emeralds and gems of great price, intended as a present for the Sophi, though they never reached that august personage. He was at length permitted to join a party of high officials on their way to Babylon, and, after a four days' journey, struck the Euphrates at Bir, where the English merchants, who had graciously escorted him from Aleppo, bade him God speed, and so returned to their respective establishments. In addition to Sir Anthony's party, there were eleven large craft filled with Turks and their merchandize, and every night the little fleet was moored to one of the banks. Every morning at early dawn huge lions were seen coming down to the river to drink after their night's prowling in quest of prey. On the third day they passed a great heap of stones which, as they were assured by the Jews in their company, marked the spot where Abraham had pitched his tents—presumably when he came out from Ur of the Chaldees. As the boats glided down stream they were frequently pelted with stones from slings skilfully handled by parties of wild Arabs from the rising ground that ran parallel to the river. The first noteworthy place at which they stopped was, if we follow Manwaring's account, called Anah ; but this must be a mistake, for he places it higher up the river than Rakka, whereas the reverse is the case. The confusion of names was doubtless accidental, and may have arisen from the want

of an actual diary. In any case, about two miles distant were pitched the tents of "the king of the Arabs"—evidently the Sheikh of a powerful tribe—who is described as "a man of a goodly personage, exceeding black, and very grim of visage; his Queen was a Blackamoor." It was the custom of the Turks to fire a blank volley on coming to a place of any importance, but on this occasion one of the King's Guards, as he was walking by the river's side, was shot dead. His comrades, some fifty in number, drew their swords and demanded vengeance. The Turk who had fired the loaded gun protested that it was the handiwork of the Christians, whereupon the Arabs swore that they would kill every one of the infidels. A Syud, however, who happened to be in the same boat with the homicide, and had seen him put a ball down the barrel of his gun, pointed him out to the Arabs, who straightway cut him to pieces. The King, or Sheikh, then ordered all the boats to be moored close to his bank, and, to prevent them from starting without his leave, took away their oars. Sir Anthony Shirley, accompanied by Manwaring and three other gentlemen, went ashore to pay their respects to the chief, who invited them to partake of a banquet of milk, melons, radishes, and rice. His tribe numbered about 20,000, and possessed 10,000 camels. With characteristic munificence Sir Anthony sent to his boat for a piece of cloth of gold, wherewith to make an upper coat, which was accepted with expressions of delight, and in return the king gave him certain passports which afterwards proved serviceable. The Turks, however, were treated very scurvily. This little incident is told somewhat differently by Sir Anthony himself. He speaks of "a poor King with ten or twelve thousand beggarly subjects, living in tents of black hair cloth; yet so well governed that though our clothes were much better than theirs, and their want might have made them apt enough to borrow them of us, we passed notwithstanding through them all in such peace as we could not have done, being strangers, amongst civilised bred people." But on returning to his boat he found it in

possession of the King's Master of the Horse, who made them send his chief three vests of cloth of gold "for beholding his person." A few days later the voyagers passed a spot all alight with the flames of pitch and brimstone, which the Jews declared to be the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, but which was known to the Turks as Hell's Mouth. The next point worthy of note is said to have been Rakka, whereas it must have been Anah, where the Arabs were seen crossing the river on inflated skins. At length they landed near the suburbs of old Babylon, where they hired camels and asses to convey them to Baghdad. A friendly warning had been given to Sir Anthony Shirley that his goods would be examined and probably appropriated, and in fact everything he possessed was seized, to the estimated value of 600,000 crowns. The Bashaw kept for himself the most costly articles, and because Sir Anthony refused to make obeisance to him and bore himself like a gallant gentleman, he threatened to send him in chains to Constantinople, and to fix the heads of his companions over the gates of Babylon. The Englishman boldly replied that he cared nothing for what might happen to himself, but earnestly entreated that his followers might be allowed to complete their journey without molestation. The travellers were again indebted for their deliverance to an Armenian who stood high in the Bashaw's favour, though he failed to obtain the restitution of their property. They were detained a whole month, and were reduced to the necessity of disposing of their wearing apparel to procure food, which, fortunately, was abundant and cheap. The people, too, were civil and well-behaved. In the end a Florentine merchant, whose name, Victorio Speciera, deserves to be held in honourable remembrance, won Sir Anthony's confidence, having travelled with him from Aleppo, and prevailed upon him to accept substantial assistance. This generous Italian engaged camels, horses, and mules for the whole party, and arranged for them to join a caravan of Persian pilgrims on their way home from Mecca. Nor did his bounty rest even there,

for at parting from Sir Anthony he pressed upon him a bag of sequins sufficient to cover all expenses, and to furnish him and his companions with garments until they came under the direct protection of Abbas Shah.

Very shortly after their departure from Babylon the Bashaw received a peremptory order from the Great Turk to seize Sir Anthony Shirley and his comrades and send them forthwith to Stamboul. The friendly Armenian, however, again came to their aid, and gave the captain of the 200 horsemen despatched to overtake the caravan, 200 ducats to miss his road. For all that, they passed a night in great danger, their pursuers having halted only three miles short of the pilgrim encampment. On his return to Babylon the captain was beheaded. The route taken by the caravan lay in a northerly direction, and ran through Turkish territory for thirty days—fifteen more being consumed between the frontier and Kazbin. At one point they passed close by a force of 10,000 Turks, said to be on their march to Hungary. At another place the garrison of a small fort cast covetous eyes upon the European firearms and ammunition, but were overawed by the resolution displayed by the adventurers, and accepted a small present instead. They also passed through a portion of Kurdistan, which Manwaring calls Curdia, and describes as “a very thievish and brutish country.” The inhabitants, he says, dwelt in tents and caves, and rode on bulls and cows. They were miserably and coarsely clad, and were such adepts at filching that they would creep into a tent at night and steal the turban off a man’s head without awakening the wearer. The townsfolk, however, brought out to them bread, rice, goats’ cheese, and other produce, for which they refused to take gold or silver, having no use for the precious metals, but gladly accepted in exchange old shoes, copper rings, and little hand mirrors. Yet a few days more and they found themselves, to their infinite satisfaction, within the frontiers of Persia. With grateful hearts they knelt down and thanked God for preserving them through so many perils, and bringing them to

the land of the Sophi, without the loss of a single man. The first remarkable spot they arrived at was a mountain, in the interior of which 300 dwelling-houses had been excavated. The streets were perfectly level, and were lighted and ventilated through a huge aperture cut overhead. Food was plentiful and the people very friendly. A strict watch was maintained by 100 horsemen armed with bows and arrows, swords, targets, and short pieces. The same kindliness was shown in the other towns through which they passed. On approaching Kazbin Sir Anthony sent on in advance Angelo and another to obtain lodgings secretly so that they should not first be seen in their travel-worn clothing. Their arrival, however, though they entered the town by night, could not be concealed from the local authorities, and thus, early next morning, the Lord Steward called upon them and laid a bag of gold at Sir Anthony's feet, who spurned it contemptuously, and said that he and his friends had not come as beggars, but to serve the king in his wars. Compliments were thereupon exchanged with effusion, the Lord Steward expressing his conviction that a man who could act so magnanimously must himself be a prince. The Governor and his "gentlemen" were not slow to wait upon the travellers, tendering their services in all possible ways. Numerous useful presents were sent both by the Governor and the Lord Steward, and as soon as the strangers were suitably equipped they were entertained at a grand banquet, at which every dish was trimmed with rice of various colours. Musicians and ten beautiful women played and sang for their delectation, and in every respect they were nobly entertained, in striking contrast to their privations and sufferings within the Turkish dominions. Though absent at the time, warring in Tartaria, Abbas Shah had been duly informed of the arrival of the Europeans, and had immediately despatched a post to Kazbin ordering every man and horse to be placed at their disposal, and threatening death to whoso should raise a hand against them.

When the king had arrived about four miles from

Kazbin he was met by the European adventurers in gallant array. As marshal of the band, Manwaring, with a white wand in his hand, rode slightly ahead of his companions, and was followed by Sir Anthony Shirley, wearing a rich cloth of gold gown and undercoat. His sword was suspended from a handsome scarf, ornamented with pearls and diamonds to the value of a thousand pounds. His turban cost two hundred dollars, while his boots were embroidered with pearls and rubies. His brother Robert, Angelo, and the others were likewise dressed in gorgeous apparel. About half a mile from the town they encountered the procession that heralded the approach of Abbas Shah. First and foremost rode 1,200 horsemen, each carrying on his lance a human head, while some of them had strings of ears hanging round their necks. Next came the trumpeters, with instruments two and a half yards in length, with the big end as large round as a hat of that period. After these were the drummers, with brass drums, mounted on camels; six standard-bearers; and twelve pages, each carrying a lance. The king rode all alone, lance in hand, with bow and arrows, sword and target by his side—short in stature, strongly built, and of a swarthy complexion. The procession closed with "the Lieutenant-General and all his bows in rank like a half-moon," a mass of officers, and 20,000 horsemen. Sir Arthur and his brother Robert dismounted and kissed the king's foot, "for it is the fashion of the country." The king looked at them with great stateliness of manner, but uttered not a word save to bid the lieutenant-general do as he had been commanded. Putting spurs to his horse he galloped out of sight, leaving the Englishmen somewhat disconcerted until assured that all this was in conformity with Persian etiquette. At the end of an hour the king galloped back to them, attended by sixteen women on horseback, splendidly attired, who "did holloa and gave such a cry much like the wild Irish, which did make us wonder at it." Embracing Sir Anthony and his brother, the king kissed each three or four times, and, taking

Anthony by the hand, swore that he should be to him as a brother, and by that familiar appellation he ever after addressed him. With Sir Anthony on his right hand Abbas Shah passed on through the vast crowd of citizens, bowing themselves to the ground and kissing the earth. No soldier, not a native of the town, was permitted to enter it, the others being disbanded for a time. Riding through the streets to the royal banqueting-hall, the king led Sir Anthony into "a fair chamber," and bade him recount the story of his travels. When the doleful tale was ended he expressed much sympathy, and added, "Be well assured I will place thee on my head." A banquet, of course, ensued, which lasted for two hours, "with great joy," after which the king descended the stairs, mounted a horse, and played for some time at a game resembling the Indian polo, or hockey-on-horseback. Late in the evening, just as Sir Anthony and his companions were about to retire to rest, the Lord Steward arrived with twenty gentlemen, lighted by sixteen torches, to invite the strangers to spend the night with the king. Royal invitations are everywhere equivalent to commands. They found Abbas Shah holding a durbar in the principal bazaar. With his own hands the king thrust Sir Anthony into a chair of state, and had a stool brought for Robert, while the others sat down cross-legged on carpets as best they could. An alarum of drums and trumpets preluded another banquet which was brought in by twenty-four noblemen. While the feast proceeded the most noted musicians of the town gave a taste of their quality, while twenty well-favoured women danced and sang in the Persian fashion. The feast being at an end, Abbas Shah took Sir Anthony by the arm and led him through the illuminated streets, the courtiers following, each in company of an European. Twenty women went in front singing and dancing, and at every turning the royal party was greeted with strains of instrumental music. After this fashion eight days slipped away, each more gaily and idly than those that went before.

On the tenth day the king sent Sir Anthony a right royal gift, consisting of horses, camels, mules, tents, carpets, household stuff, gold and silver plate, and a sum of money valued at 16,000 ducats, and bade him be at a certain spot in four days with ten of his companions. Abbas Shah marched more quickly than the Englishman. We are told that he overtook him with 200 men, and, passing his arm round his waist, kissed him several times, swearing that every day he was absent from his friend seemed like a year. They all supped together in a large caravanserai, and the supper passed off very pleasantly until a nobleman accidentally gave offence to his passionate master. At an early hour next morning the unfortunate courtier was bound with chains to a stake, and ten gentlemen were commanded to throw at him each ten quinces, the king setting the example. When each had had a throw Sir Anthony interceded for the poor wretch, and begged that he might be forgiven. The Shah replied with a smile, "Brother, it shall be as thou wilt have it." The delinquent was accordingly unbound, and kissed Sir Anthony's hand in token of gratitude. A further ride of twelve miles brought them to the "gallant city" of Kashan, hunting and hawking as they went along. About ten o'clock at night Sir Anthony was sent for to join the king in "the Piazza, a fair place like unto Smithfield, standing in the middle of the town." The Shah and his courtiers stood around, each holding a torch, while rows of unlighted lamps were fixed against the house-walls. The king led his guests to the top of a turret and told them to look down, when in one instant the lamps sprang into a blaze of light, even on the roofs. Fireworks were let off by a Turk which represented dragons fighting in the air, while out of a fountain rose shapes like unto fishes which vomited flames twelve yards in height. Here, again, several days were wasted in feasting and other amusements, at the end of which a start was made for Ispahan by way of Coom. A halt was called about three miles from the former city, and next morning they came

upon the royal army 30,000 strong, whose drums and trumpets created a hideous uproar, and many human heads were borne aloft on lance points. Falling into a crescent formation, the troops marched close behind the royal party, which was met about two miles from Ispahan by some 20,000 of the townsfolk, who laid down silk and taffety for the king to ride upon. The Shah thanked them warmly for their reception, and invited Sir Anthony also to bring his horse on to the carpeting, which he respectfully declined to do. The rich stuffs were thereupon given to the guards. The troops being halted, some skirmishing took place, but not to the Shah's satisfaction, who drew his sword and dashed into the "awkward squad," of whom he killed four outright, besides lopping off arms and inflicting other serious wounds. Towards sunset the march was resumed, the Governor of the town riding in advance. The young prince, however, galloped past him, uttering some coarse jests about his wife, who happened to be a fair woman. The Governor retorted angrily, and was reported to the king, who told his son to take his bow and arrows and shoot the offender. The prince transfixing him through the thigh, but he calmly dismounted and kissed the prince's feet. This act of loyal submission so pleased the Shah that he straightway appointed the Governor of Ispahan to the viceroyalty of the whole province. From sunstroke and the king's sword there died that day 140 men.

At Ispahan Sir Anthony Shirley continually urged Shah Abbas to make war upon the Turks, and personally he was nothing loth to do so, but the proposition was not equally agreeable to many of the great nobles, who preferred ease and idleness to the risks and discomfort of the tented field. The king, however, offered to appoint the English adventurer lieutenant of his forces, but subsequently decided upon sending him as his ambassador to the Christian princes in the hope of forming a general alliance against Turkey. The mission was marred at the very outset by a Persian of very inferior rank being added

as coadjutor, whose only thought was to magnify his own importance and to thwart his colleague in every possible way. Besides, though Sir Anthony was a gallant knight and a thorough courtier, there is nothing to show that he was a diplomatist. He travelled loyally enough from court to court, making himself all things to all men, and winning honour and reputation for himself, but without reference to his original employer the Shah, or Sophi, of Persia, with whom he seems to have held no communication for years, if ever. He is said to have fashioned his manners and deportment on the model of his patron, the Earl of Essex, whom he closely copied in his lordly bearing and profuse munificence. His adventures as an ambassador without credentials do not fall within the scope of this paper. It must suffice, therefore, to mention that through the treachery of his Persian colleague he was subjected to much insult and contumely in the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, for which he was partially compensated by the exceptional honours bestowed upon him in Germany and at Rome, where the Persian Ambassador relieved him of his unwelcome company. It fared badly, however, with this disloyal person, for on his return to Persia he rendered an utterly false account of Sir Anthony's proceedings, which were satisfactorily vindicated by Robert Shirley, whom the Shah had retained about his person as a sort of hostage for his brother. The calumniator had accordingly his hands amputated and his tongue pulled out in the presence of Robert, who protested against further torments being inflicted, and suggested that his head should be cut off without further ado; which was done forthwith. In the meantime, Sir Anthony Shirley had crossed over to Spain, where he was installed a knight of St. Jago, and finally was appointed Captain-General of two hundred great ships, besides galleys and small vessels, manned by 30,000 soldiers. What became of these mighty preparations the present writer has failed to discover, beyond the fact that Sir Anthony actually proceeded to Lisbon to take the

command. In the year 1604 Sir Anthony Shirley was sent by the Emperor of Germany as Ambassador to Morocco, where he bore himself in a lofty manner, though with what result it would be hard to state. In 1625, however, he was residing at the Spanish Court with the title of Count of the Sacred Roman Empire, and in receipt of a yearly allowance of 2,000 ducats, which went a very little way towards defraying his lavish expenditure. He had the character of being a great plotter, for which reason he was probably commanded by James I. to return to England. This peremptory summons he thought it more prudent to disobey, and he is reported to have closed his singular career in Spain some time in 1630.

Of Robert, the youngest of the Shirleys, there is not much to tell. He evidently became enervated and demoralized by his long residence in Persia, and took to wearing the Persian costume even in England. For two years after Sir Anthony's departure for Muscovy Robert was treated by the Shah with marked consideration; but as time rolled on, and nothing was heard of or from the ambassador to Christendom, he fell under the displeasure of the king, until again taken into favour through a new caprice. He was fortunate in obtaining an opportunity for displaying the soldierly qualities of his race through a revival of the war with Turkey. He not only exhibited conspicuous bravery, poleaxe in hand, but was entrusted with a high command, in which capacity he several times defeated the enemy, and was crowned by his own victorious soldiers with a wreath of laurel. In the decisive battle in which 100,000 Turks were completely routed by 60,000 Persians, Robert Shirley particularly distinguished himself, receiving three severe wounds. For these services Abbas Shah bestowed upon him in marriage the hand of a Circassian lady, named Theresia, a Christian from her birth, who had left her fatherland as attendant on one of the Sultans. It turned out a happy marriage, the wife accompanying her husband in his subsequent wanderings from court to court.

For in 1608 or in the following year Abbas Shah despatched him, as he had previously done his brother, on a roving mission to the Christian States. He does not seem to have been more successful than Sir Anthony as regards the alliance against the Turks, though even more fortunate in obtaining personal distinctions. Thus, he was created a Chamberlain and Count of the Sacred Palace of the Lateran by Pope Paul V., with the lucrative privilege of legitimizing bastards, and by the Emperor of Germany Count Palatine, with sovereign powers. He was also well treated by Sigismund III., King of Poland, by the Pope, and by his Catholic Majesty. In the year 1611 he was presented to James I. at Hampton Court, was recognized as the Shah's Ambassador, and received the honour of knighthood. His wife was delivered of a son during his residence in England, the Queen, and Prince Henry, after whom he was named, standing as the boy's sponsors. In the following year a well-appointed ship conveyed him back to Persia, provided with gracious letters to the Shah from King James and with a personal gratification of £500.

Sir Robert Shirley's second embassy to England in 1623 was less felicitous than his former experience. He was received, indeed, more than once in private audience by both the king and Prince Charles, but he unwisely postponed his return to his proper post as colonel of a cavalry regiment until a genuine Persian ambassador arrived in a ship that had long been given up as lost. The latter declared that Sir Robert's credentials were forged, and struck him in the face, while his son followed up the assault by striking the Englishman to the ground, who made no attempt to defend himself, and lost credit by his pusillanimity. The king wisely commanded both the disputants to return to Persia to "make purgation," but both contrived to miss the outward-bound fleet in the Downs, and were forced to return to London and await the sailing of the next fleet, which was to leave ten months later, in the month of

March. Sir Dodmore Cotton was sent out at the same time as English ambassador to the Shah. Sir Dodmore was accompanied by Sir Thomas Herbert, whose narrative of travels and adventures in Persia and India is very pleasant reading.

The pugnacious Persian must have been troubled by an uneasy conscience. At the conclusion of the voyage he committed suicide by eating nothing but opium for four continuous days. It was, perhaps, as well, for Abbas Shah declared that if he had come before him he would have had him sliced into as many pieces as there were days in the year, and his remains ignominiously burnt in the market-place. Sir Robert himself was only once received, the Shah remarking to his courtiers that he had grown old and troublesome. The disgrace was more than Sir Robert could endure. He was attacked by fever and apoplexy, and rapidly sank under mental mortification rather than under bodily disease. As no better place could be found for his body, he was buried beneath the threshold of his own house. Sir Thomas Herbert wrote of him that "his age exceeded not the great climacteric; his condition was free, noble, but inconstant. . . . His patience was better than his intellect; he was not much acquainted with the Muses, but what he wanted in philosophy he supplied in languages." His widow narrowly escaped destitution through the knavery of a Dutch portrait-painter residing at Court, but was saved through the good offices of a gentleman attached to the English Mission. Fuller, by the way, speaks of this lady—whose later years were passed at Rome—in an uncomplimentary manner as regards her beauty. Lady Theresia, he says, "had more *ebony* than *ivory* in her complexion"—which could not have been true of a fair Circassian; but he adds that "she was amiable enough, and very valiant—a quality considerable in that sex in those countries." Fuller has besides a mild sneer at Sir Robert Shirley's addiction to "*Persicōs apparatus*." "He much affected, to appear in foreign vests; and, as if

his clothes were his limbs, accounted himself never ready till he had something of the Persian habit about him."

It was altogether an ill-fated embassy. The Persian ambassador poisoned himself off the Indian coast; Sir Robert Shirley died, so to speak, of a broken heart; and finally Sir Dodmore Cotton was carried off by a flux "got by eating too much fruits, or cold on Taurus." He breathed his last at Kazbin on the 23rd of July, 1628, but was buried in the Armenian cemetery, the Church of England funeral service being read over his grave by his chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Gough.

JAMES HUTTON. *

EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES TO CHUSAN.

AFTER the first English settlement in Chusan under President Catchpoole the voyages to that island partook of the character of attempts to trade there without a factory. The United Company in 1704 consigned the *Northumberland* to Chusan, and from that year to 1756 these voyages of experiment to Chusan were marked by long intervals. The commercial courtship was during this half century three or four times revived, rather because the more aggravated acts of fraud and oppression by the merchants and mandarins of that port and province were forgotten, than from any positive encouragement that the records of former voyages could supply.

The cargo laden on the *Northumberland* amounted to £16,345 2s. 3d., which the supercargoes were to dispose of at Limpo or Chusan, and they were to invest the proceeds in a cargo for Bengal, consigning the same to the United Council there. On her voyage out, the *Northumberland* was to touch at Pulo Condore, to countenance that settlement, and leave supplies there; and also to take on board any person whom the President might select to assist the supercargoes in China.

Our knowledge of the experiences of the *Northumberland* is derived from second-hand sources, such as these extracts from the diary of the supercargoes of the *Kent* at Canton :

October 24, 1704.—We have seen a letter from Mr. Rolfe at Chusan, upon the *Northumberland* galley; giving an account that Angus, who lately failed at Emoy, is now there, and has been very serviceable to him. He writes that he has got his lading, viz., copper at 11 taels 3 mace per

pecul, and tutenague at 4 tael 3 mas per pecal : and expects a very early despatch.*

Batavia, February 21.—The ship *Northumberland*, Mr. Rolph, supercargo, was at Chusan this season : and having no other ship at that port (the mandarins beginning to be sensible that their injuries to the New Company's President and Council would, in all likelihood, deprive them of any future benefit from the English trade), they received the said Mr. Rolph very courteously, and gave him all imaginable despatch. But he was forced to touch at Emoy, as he came down the coast, *for gold* ; there being a great and unusual scarcity [of that commodity] to the northward this season.

As for his goods : I find by a letter from them, that there was no want ; they loaded about 3,000 pecul copper at 11 tael and 11.5 the pecul ; tutenague,† a small matter at 4t. 3m. 'Tis true these are high prices : but the China trade has been so overdone for some years past, that the price will not be easily brought down, unless we forbear a little and give a breathing. Anqua, who was forced to leave Emoy, under the misfortune of not being able to pay his debts to the Old and New Company, as well as to private gentlemen, is now settled at Chusan ; and, as Mr. Rolph writes, was very servicable to him with his advice, and by going between him and the Mandarins as often as occasion required.

In the Court's instructions to another ship in 1706 and 1707 it was written :—"We understand the supercargoes of the *Northumberland* left behind them at Chusan sixteen hundred pieces of tutenague, weighing 53,091 lbs., valued at, prime cost, £592 4s. 9d. ; which, as it belongs to us, we ought to have. If you can get that tutenague, then you will have so much towards your kinflage." * Chusan being so far to the north, the Court expected that the cloth and long-ells would sell readily, and to some profit.

The *Rochester*, of 330 tons, was in 1710 consigned to Chusan, with a stock of £35,260 5s. 10d. ; but upon the representation of the chief and second, the Court granted the supercargoes discretion to alter the consignment to

* A letter left by the supercargoes of the *Northumberland*, at Chusan, dated November 27, 1704, addressed to the supercargoes of all future ships, is cited in the Court's instructions to the supercargoes of the *Rochester*, January 6, 1709-10. Therefore, November 27, 1704, may be taken as the date when the *Northumberland* departed.

† Tutenague is an alloy of iron, copper, and zinc. It has been long superseded by Silesian spelter, which is now even imported into China. See Dr. Balfour's valuable Cyclopædia of India.

Tinghoy,* or to Limpo; and also directed them, if time permitted, to touch at Amoy, anchoring outside the harbour, and there contract for such goods as were procurable, to be forwarded to Chusan; but the ship was on no account to enter the port, nor to remain more than forty-eight hours.

At Amoy the supercargoes were to represent, in the most public manner, that the ill-treatment, arbitrary impositions, delays, and other embarrassments there experienced, had caused the Company to decline trading at that port of late years; and that, owing to some of the like practices at Canton, they had sent no ships thither, nor to any part of China, the last two years; and this year there would be only two at Canton, and the *Rochester* at Chusan: and that if the Chinese persevered in this conduct the Company would wholly decline the Chinese trade, or confine it to those ports at which they met with civil treatment. The acts chiefly to be complained of were: the additional duty of four per cent. exacted on exports; the restriction of the trade to persons calling themselves Emperor's merchants; and ransacking the chests of their servants previous to quitting the shore.

If the *Rochester* arrived at Chusan before the old *Hoppo* went out of office, the supercargoes were to settle all matters with him as far as possible; as his time being short, he would, for his own profit sake, be more lenient than could be expected of his successor: but in this they were to use due caution that they were not embroiled between the old *Hoppo* and the new one.

On arrival at Chusan, they were to insist upon the following terms:—

1st.—Liberty to deal with whom they pleased. That the merchants should not combine against them: nor the mandarins force them to trade with persons pretending to be the emperor's merchants; the Court adding that "if any such custom should be endeavoured to be introduced at Chusan," the supercargoes were to resist it, and to make the same representation as directed at Amoy.

* Tinghai, now the chief town on the Chusan group.

2nd.—Liberty to lay the ship ashore to repair ; and to buy stores and provisions.

3rd.—Perfect freedom in the choice of a linguist, and other Chinese servants, and to dismiss them and engage others.

4th.—To be treated with respect by the mandarins, and to be seated on chairs, and not on "spreadings," on visiting them.

In order that the true value and estimation of English goods might be ascertained, they were to be disposed of for cash, or in direct barter, and not mixed in one general contract ; and the Court being most anxious to extend their vend, the supercargoes were directed to make minute inquiries as to English and other European commodities suited to the Chinese market ; and to procure a translation of the emperor's tariff on imports throughout China, together with the rates of measurage, and all other matters affecting the English trade.

The order of investment comprised 140 tons of tea, at the least ; 40 chests of raw silk ; a great variety of China-ware ; and several thousand lackered tea-tables and boards.

The following is an abstract diary of the proceedings of Messrs. Douglas, Sheffield, and Holland, supercargoes of ship *Rochester*, at Chusan. It was kept by the junior supercargo, Richard Holland :—

August 21, 1710.—The *Rochester* touched at Amoy, where they found a Danish ship with English supercargoes. The supercargoes went ashore, and were urgently pressed by the *Hoppo* to remain and trade ; but, resisting his solicitations and fair promises, they on the 24th set sail for Chusan.

August 30.—Anchored within Tree Island, and wrote Padre Goulette at Limpo, to inquire if the *Hoppo* would permit them to trade at Tinghay. On the 4th of September the Padre came on board, and stated that it would be better to trade at Chusan, as there was now a good *Chumpein* at that place.

September 4.—Mr. Douglas accompanied Padre to Chusan, and next day returned alone, having been cordially received by the *Chumpein*, who promised that they should

not only "receive all ye civilities y^e the port could afford," but that he would take care the merchants should do them no injustice.

September 17.—The intermediate time having been spent in visiting the Chinese functionaries, the ship this day entered the Inner Harbour. On the 23rd agreed for the measurage of the ship. On the 29th some of the bales were landed; and next day the *Hoppo* visited the factory and pressed them to land their goods, stating that he was in haste to return to Limpo.

October 3.—The supercargoes waited on the *Chumpein* to inquire the cause of their having no prospect of trade, and to urge despatch, being a late ship. He promised they should see some merchants next day; adding that it was his interest that they should get away as soon as possible, as he hoped the Company would be induced to send more ships when they heard of the good treatment the present one received at Chusan.

October 4.—Some merchants came, and looked at Musters, but did nothing. In going off to the ship, the *Hoppo's* people were, "as usual," troublesome and insolent. To resent this affront, the supercargoes next day made a show of leaving the port; but returned to the factory upon the *Chumpein* sending to inform them that he had no knowledge of the affront, and had punished those who offered it; and that it should not be repeated.

October 10.—Padre Goulette arrived from Limpo; and stated that he had seen Anqua, who promised to beat Chusan in a day or two; which gave the supercargoes some "hopes of trade," of which hitherto there had been "no prospect." Next day, however, the Padre changed his tone, and said that Anqua would not come, and advised them to deal with the *Chunguan*.* This man the supercargoes represent as not having "the least grain of honesty;" and whose object it was to keep them from trading as long as possible, expecting ultimately to bring them to any terms he pleased to

* Secretary to some great officer; but acting as a broker.

prospect. The supercargoes therefore now found that between the duplicity of the Padre, the "rascality" of the *Chunquan*, and for want of a good linguist, they had, after forty days, as little prospect of trading as ever. Meantime they were daily plagued by the mandarins, who wished to "gripe" all the best goods on pretence of making presents to the emperor.

October 12 and 13.—Finding it impossible to come to terms with the *Chunquan*, the supercargoes sent a letter by Padre Goulette to Anqua at Limpo, explaining their difficulties, and desiring him to hasten down. The *Chunquan* followed the Padre, in hopes, as they conjectured, of bringing Anqua over to his interest.

On the 17th Anqua arrived at Chusan; and told the supercargoes, that after he had visited the mandarins he would come to the factory. Next day he sent the linguist to bespeak their patience for a few days till he was fixed in a *Hong*. The supercargoes, however, suspected that the Mandarin of Justice and the *Chunquan* had conspired to prevent Anqua trading with them; these mandarins, to excite a prejudice against him, representing him to be a king's merchant. On the 19th, therefore, Mr. Douglas waited on the *Chumpein* to know why they were restrained from "a free converse with Anqua:" and, there meeting the Mandarin of Justice, he in the presence of both declared, that if perfect freedom of action were not allowed to Anqua the ship should depart for some other port;—and then left them to consider of it. In the evening the supercargoes waited on Anqua; who assured them he had no doubt of getting over "this broil," and of doing their business effectually, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in his way..

October 20.—Again visited Anqua, who repeated the same assurances; adding that he would next day send away the "Eunuchs" whom he brought with him from Pekin, the better to support his interest: this inclined the supercargoes to believe he was won over by the *Chumpein*.

October 23.—Anqua visited the factory for the first time; but did nothing, not having yet settled with the mandarins. On the 26th, however, he accompanied Mr. Douglas to the *Chumpein*, before whom he promised to despatch the ship in ninety days.

October 28.—The *Chunquan* returned from Limpo, with whom Anqua now proposed to compromise the difference between them. On the 30th these two, with several merchants, visited the factory, and inspected the cloth; but desired time to consider of a price.

November 1.—The supercargoes saw some musters of wrought silks, but nothing of Anqua, nor the *Chunquan*, till the evening.

The cunning policy of the *Chunquan* was now made manifest; for knowing that the ship brought a large quantity of goods, which he and his associates had not money to buy, they would only agree for the export cargo; leaving the price of the imports to be afterwards fixed, expecting that the pressing demand of time would hereafter force the supercargoes to part with the goods at any price which he might choose to give for them. Seeing this, the supercargoes declined entering into any agreement for the investments till a price was fixed for their cloth, and other imports.

November 4.—Received a letter from Padre Goulette, at Amoy, stating that the *Hoppo* was using every endeavour not only to get into the contract [meaning that with the supercargoes]; but also "to gripe" them in his customs. On the 16th they replied to the Padre's letter, and desired him to send them some provisions; which were both scarce and dear, owing to all the mandarins of the place taking "a smack" out of everything sold them, "even to a penny-worth of green trade."

November 18 to 23.—The entries in the *Diary* under these dates show some of the causes which impeded commerce at Chusan. One of the chief, was not a scarcity of goods (of which there was sufficient to despatch a ship in a

short time), but the want of ready money among the mandarins and merchants; not one of whom could command 100 tael; insomuch that those who had any share in the transactions with the supercargoes had borrowed money at 40 per cent. Another obstacle was created by the irregularity and severity of the *Hoppo*; who employed his authority to prevent the sale of all commodities on which the duties were light, in order to enhance the customs by increasing the vend of those on which the duty was high.

By reason of these multiplied impediments, the supercargoes did not conclude the contract "with Anqua and the *Chunquan*" till the 25th November; and they then found that it would be utterly hopeless to despatch the ship within the present season unless they advanced some cash; the merchants alleging that they could do nothing with the cloth and their goods till after the ship's departure, and then only by selling them retail at Hanchew. On the 27th, therefore, receiving an engagement for the ship's despatch in seventy days, they delivered to the *Chunquan* five chests of silver; who promised to take it up immediately to Hanchew, to provide the investment; but five days afterwards he was still at Chusan; and the supercargoes suspected that the *Chumpein* had some part of this cash to supply his occasions on going up to Fokien.

December 2-5.—Anqua and other merchants took away some lead from the factory; this commenced the delivery of imports: and on the 13th the supercargoes received 150 chests of Japan copper, the first delivery on account of the contract for the *Rochester's* export cargo. The *Diary* contains many entries of receipts and deliveries of goods; some of which do not specify the quantity, and are therefore omitted in this abstract. The tardy process of exchanging small parcels of goods illustrates the poverty of the mandarins and merchants.

December 29.—Upon the pressing solicitation of Anqua and the other merchants, the supercargoes agreed to advance three more chests of silver; they engaging to

deliver certain quantities of tea, gold, and wrought silks within twenty days, and that the ship should be despatched in forty-five. This silver was accordingly delivered to the *Chunquan* next day; who immediately conveyed it to Ningpo.

February 17, 1710-11.—The *Chunquan* arrived from Limpo; and in justification of himself attributed the delay in the ship's despatch to the severity of the winter at Hanchew and Soycheu; which not only retarded the drying of silks, but had prevented other goods coming down. The merchants, however, promised despatch in twenty days.

February 22. — The *Tytuck* of Chyanchew arrived. The greater part of the Island of Chusan belonged to him; and he it was who first settled the trade of the place, at which time he was *Chumpein*.

March 4. — Mr. Douglas waited on the *Tytuck* at Anqua's Hong, and complained of the illtreatment of the merchants, especially of his (the *Tytuck*'s) *Chunquan* (Secretary). He was most kind; promising redress—that the contract should be honestly complied with, that the ship should be despatched in fifteen days, and that he would be answerable for the money advanced to his *Chunquan*.

April 1, 1711. — The merchants brought a large quantity of tea and fans to the factory gate; which the supercargoes declined receiving, as not having been contracted for. Hereupon they (the Government brokers) endeavoured to convey them into the factory by force; and the gate being shut upon them, they broke it down. The second mandarin presently came to know the cause of the disturbance. This the supercargoes explained; and Anqua being with him, they demanded why he had not delivered the silks and other goods; adding that though the merchants had violated the agreement, they were willing to receive any goods, provided they were equal to the muster. The mandarin then urged them to receive these

goods; but on their still refusing, he put his *Chop* upon them, and departed. In the evening Wanquam brought a *Chop* from the Mandarin of Justice for these goods being taken into the factory. This the supercargoes absolutely refused; when force was again attempted, but successfully repelled.

April 2.—Anqua came on board to Mr. Douglas; who told him that he would not receive inferior goods, nor of those sorts which had not been contracted for. Anqua pretended great fear of the mandarins, and the new *Hoppo*; and notwithstanding the impossibility of the ship's departing this season, the wind being now southerly, he urged the supercargoes to depart as they were. * Presently afterwards a linguist came on board, with a story that the English at the factory had the previous day beaten several Chinese, and drawn their knives upon them; an utter falsehood, they having done nothing beyond preventing the goods rejected from being brought to the warehouse.

April 3.—Anqua pressed Mr. Douglas to go on shore, stating that the mandarins had placed his two sons and linguist in chains; but the supercargoes, considering the whole a device to intimidate Mr. Douglas, refused. Next day Anqua again urged Mr. Douglas to go with him to the mandarins; but he being indisposed, desired the other two supercargoes to go; which the Chinese refused to permit.

April 5.—Anqua continued his suit for Mr. Douglas to accompany him to the Governor's, without, however, being able to give any reason for his request. At length Mr. Douglas yielded, and went ashore to the factory; where he found Anqua and the *Chunquan*. He told them he would still take the goods contracted for, but no others. They replied, he must take all their China-ware, and give them the remainder of the money; which he promptly refused. The supercargoes then collected all their people ashore, and withdrew to the ship, leaving everything in the factory as it was. Anqua and the Governor's *Chunquan* presently came off to know the reason of their retiring; and were

informed that it was owing to the abuses of the merchants in breaking their contracts, and the affronts received—of all which they pretended ignorance. Next day the linguist came on board, on the plea of telling them that the Governor knew nothing of the affronts put upon them : but in reality he was sent as a spy by the merchants.

April 9.—The supercargoes wrote Padre Goulette to come down from Limpo to inform the mandarins of the real state of affairs, as they could not trust this communication to any of the linguists, who were the mere creatures of the mandarins. In two days they received his answer, stating that it would be prejudicial to come on their solicitation, and that they must get the mandarins to invite him down.

April 12.—The first *Hoppo's Chunquan* came on board to inquire why the supercargoes did not go on shore. The supercargoes repeated the cause, adding that they would remain on board till the season permitted them to depart ; and that if Anqua would come with the *Chunquan*, they would demonstrate that both reason and justice were on their side. On the 13th, Anqua and the *Chunquan* dined on board. In the afternoon, Mr. Douglas went on shore, and visited the *Chumpein* and Mandarin of Justice. He was received everywhere with a good face, but nothing said of business. Since the supercargoes retired on board, many goods were brought into the factory ; and on the 17th they again went on shore, to ask the merchants to despatch the ship.

Between April 13 and 26, the supercargoes visited several of the mandarins ; and on the latter day accompanied the *Chumpein* towards Limpo, upon occasion of his departing for his new government at Nankin. Having found him better affected towards him than any other of the mandarins, they submitted to his inspection a muster of some silks which were attempted to be put upon them : on which he expressed his displeasure to Anqua, who was present, adding that he had recommended the supercargoes

to the mandarins, who had promised to protect them upon all occasions.

April 28.—The *Chunquan* and Anqua being on board, the latter with tears begged an advance of 6,000 tael to pay the *Tytuck* of Ningpo and the *Toywa* for some goods; fearing otherwise that he (Anqua) would be carried away by their people. This Mr. Douglas refused, but next day sent the other supercargoes to offer the amount in goods; which Anqua and the *Chunquan* could deposit with their creditors till the ship was despatched. This offer was rejected, Anqua stating that these mandarins would not be content with anything but money, and that he was now confined to his house, and expected hourly to be carried up to Ningpo.

April 30.—Padre Goulette arrived from Lingpo. On the following day he came on board, and told the supercargoes that Anqua had been a perfect villain towards them, and that he had misrepresented to the mandarins that the supercargoes only were to blame for the ship not having been despatched.

May 2.—Padre Goulette accompanied Mr. Douglas to the factory, where they met Anqua and the *Chunquan*. Anqua represented that he was confined, and merely permitted to visit the factory on the intercession of the Padre. Anqua further stated that the Padre had said the supercargoes were willing to take any goods whatever, and to lade what the ship would not carry on a junk for Batavia: this the Padre denied. Next day accounts were interchanged with the *Chunquan*; who found that Anqua had defrauded him to the amount of 1,500 tael in the goods delivered by the supercargoes. The supercargoes then desired to know how the remainder of the contract was to be fulfilled? Anqua and the *Chunquan* answered by handing them a list of all the goods in their possession, amounting to 40,000 tael; including lackered and China-ware, and a much larger portion of tea than contracted for: but this mode was declined. On the 4th the conference was resumed, when

the *Chunquan* and Anqua proposed that the goods already delivered by them should be shipped, and that the supercargoes should take those in their list, exclusive of the lackered and China-ware; and that Anqua should take all the supercargoes' goods, with an advance of 10,000 tael in money, to be invested as they might dictate. This, though a losing alternative, was gladly embraced; and the supercargoes entered into a new contract, to be afterwards sealed before the mandarins. No conclusion was, however, come to, and disputes continued. On May 9, Anqua charged Mr. Douglas with having been his ruin; and making some further overtures which were declined, he became desperate, and struck Mr. Douglas several blows. The supercargoes now found that these arts were practised by the *Chunquan*, in order to delay the conclusion of their business till the new *Hoppo* entered on office; and with this view, pretending business, he on May 24 departed for Ningpo, from whence he did not return till June 21, and then proceeded thither again in two days. The supercargoes were thus compelled to remain inactive.

July 31.—The new *Hoppo* did not arrive until this day; the supercargoes paid him the proper compliments. The *Chunquan* (in company with the Mandarin of Justice) did not come down till the 6th of August.

August 14.—The supercargoes first learnt that a mandarin was coming down, specially delegated from the *Fueen** to adjust the differences between them and the merchants. On the 19th he arrived. Negotiations and proposals followed, varying in the form but nothing in the substance from those already detailed, and the only object of which was to gain time: the *Chunquan* afterwards affected illness, and on September 12 the *Fueen's* deputy departed from Chusan, leaving matters just as he found them.

September 25.—The *Chunquan* still continued his dis-

* The *Fueen* is the viceroy of one province, subordinate to the *Chun-tuck*, or viceroy of two.—*Staunton's Embassy*.

honest conduct, starting all manner of difficulties to the final adjustment of affairs; the sole object of which was to force the supercargoes to advance money, and to oblige them to take such goods as he pleased to give them. The supercargoes seriously reviewed their situation. They found themselves, after the lapse of a whole year, involved in a "labyrinth of misfortunes." Anqua had departed for Amoy. The *Chunquan* had effectually cut them off from all information. They had no linguist, and Padre Goulette did not even reply to their applications to him; but even could they make known their case to the mandarins, no redress would follow, as these were "all linked in the *Chunquan's* interest." The *Chunquan* no longer resorted to artifice, but roundly declared that he would not stir another step in their affairs without an advance of money. In their "desperate case" the supercargoes were forced to yield, or hazard their detention for another year. They therefore complied; and after going through the formality of an agreement before the Mandarin of Justice, they on October 8 delivered the *Chunquan* four chests and a half of silver; he engaging to despatch the ship in sixty days.

October 11 to January 12, 1711.—To prevent further loss of time and money, the supercargoes were ultimately forced to receive whatever the *Chunquan* pleased to impose upon them, of whatever description or quality, and at his price; and the bulk in consequence exceeding the tonnage of the ship, they freighted 300 tubs of tea on a junk for Batavia. In the final settlement of accounts the *Chunquan* attempted to extort near 1,600 tael, pretending that he had been promised 2,000 tael for the ship's despatch; but in this he was defeated, the *Chumpein's* 2 per cent. remaining unpaid, and the balance due from the *Chunquan* the only fund to meet it.

The supercargoes were equally abused in their claim of satisfaction for the tutenague left in the year 1704 by the *Northumberland*; but succeeded in obtaining as an equivalent the nominal amount of 4,806 tael, in such goods

as were forced upon them. In conclusion, the *Rochester* did not leave Chusan till January 20, 1711-12, having been detained in the port nearly eighteen months.

THE VOYAGE OF 1735-6.

Nearly a generation passed without any fresh voyage to Chusan, and it is remarkable that in the following instructions for a fresh attempt to open a trade at Chusan, there should be no retrospect of the past; no mention of former voyages thither, whether they had succeeded or failed. Since the last, namely, that by the *Rochester*, there had been an interval of twenty-three years.

The following is an abstract of instructions from the Court to Messrs. Andrew Reid, Charles Rigby, and Frederick Pigou, supercargoes of ship *Normanton*, December 19, 1735:—

"The Court appoint Mr. Reid, Capt. Rigby, and Mr. Pigou, supercargoes of the *Normanton*, going out to Limpo in China.

"*Paragraph 5.*—Our design in sending you thither is to open a trade at that port.

"*Paragraph 6.*—On your arrival at Batavia, outward bound, get the best intelligence whether the port is open or no. But whatever the result of your inquiries may be, make the best of your way for Limpo. On your arrival there wait upon the *Hoppo*, or *Foyen*, or chief mandarin, and acquaint them that you are English merchants employed by the Company to load a ship with the products of China, and that you have brought money and goods for that purpose. Demand a *Chop* granting liberty to trade with such merchants as you shall think fit, to choose your own com-pradore, and the like. Settle the measurage of your ship before you proceed to business.

"*Paragraph 7.*—Provide investments as in list, assuring the *Hoppo* and merchants that in case you meet with civil treatment from the former, and honest fair dealings among the latter, we shall continue to frequent the port.

"*Paragraph 8.*—As from the novelty of having a ship there, it may happen that the merchants cannot supply a full cargo, proper for the Europe market, the first year; in that case take a partial lading for the Madras market, namely, as much tutenague, quicksilver, China-ware, and gold as procurable; with tea, Hyson, Bohea, and Singlo for the home market; then proceed to some place (other than Canton) to fill up with sugar, consigning the whole to Fort St. George.

"*Paragraph 9.*—Madras will be directed to send the tea home by another ship, and to lade on the *Normanton* stock to the amount of £40,000, either in silver, or partly in such goods as may be expected to

sell at Limpo; consigning the whole to the supercargoes. With this they are to return to Limpo and make investments as in list.

"Paragraph 10.—If, contrary to our expectation, no business is to be done at Limpo, proceed to Canton, and provide a cargo there.

"Paragraph 11.—If the port of Limpo should not be open, but the *Hoppo* should give you assurances that he would procure an open free trade another year, promise them that the Company shall send another ship thither, and leave at Batavia intelligence to that effect for the supercargoes of next year's shipping.

"Paragraph 17.—Agree on the best terms you can for that heavy article, the measurage of the ship, and represent to the Chinese that if they desire a continuance of our trade they must use you well, receive you with respect, and lay no impositions upon you. Among the privileges desired, include liberty to repair the ship and purchase stores, with exemption from the demand to land her sails or ammunition.

"Paragraph 19.—Let none on board run any goods whatever on pretence of saving the customs, as it may cause great embarrassment. And in case you proceed to Madras, prevent any opium getting on board, that commodity being prohibited by an express order of the emperor.

"Paragraph 20.—Inquire what English commodities may annually be vended in China. What we have sent we would have you sell for ready money. We would gladly send out more of our manufactures as a national benefit.

"The list of packet specifies the amount of invoice to be £39,270 3s. 2d."

The following notices in diary of the Company's ship *Normanton*, Supercargoes Andrew Reid, Charles Rigby, and Frederick Pigou, are of interest:—

June 7, 1736.—Anchored in Batavia Road, where we found several junks, two of them belonging to "Limpo."

Note.—The true name of the last-mentioned port being "Ningpo," we have agreed to use it henceforth.

June 8.—Adverting to the Company's instructions for opening a negotiation for trade at Ningpo, we prepared in Council a Memorial to the Government there, to be translated into Chinese. Cited below under date "*July 28.*"

June 20.—Engaged a Chinese linguist to proceed with us to Ningpo.

June 24.—Sailed from Batavia for Ningpo.

July 25.—Anchored off Hitto Point. In the afternoon, standing in, we were met by three war junks, who tacked and accompanied us. Some of their principal officers came on board, behaved politely, and, to our great satisfaction,

did not object to our passing Chusan, and going directly to Ningpo.

July 26.—Having directed Captain Rigby, of the *Vormanton*, to remain at anchor off Hitto Point, we set out for Ningpo in the ship's pinnace, attended by the long-boat, both well manned, armed, and furnished with provisions. We kept the channel for large ships and junks, which in many places is extremely narrow, with strong currents and eddies. When we came to the bar we found so little water upon it, although it was a spring tide, that none but very small vessels can pass. Anchored on the bar. In the evening proceeded, and soon reached Tchinghai-quan, a considerable fort, distant 15 miles from Ningpo. Here we were stopped by the commanding-officer, who stated, in answer to a communication, by our linguist, that he could not permit us to go any higher without express order from his superior; that he would promptly inform him of our arrival and intentions, and that we might expect an answer by the morning. Not to offend by any irregularity, we went ashore; and, as soon as we were introduced to the mandarin, he told us that he would not detain us any longer, and that we might proceed directly to Ningpo.

July 27.—Early in the morning we set out, and about noon arrived at Ningpo. We immediately addressed ourselves to the *Hoppo*, who sent an officer, with our interpreter, to announce our arrival to the proper mandarins, and desire an audience. Meanwhile we were left in our boats, where for several hours we had to endure the excessive heat of the weather and the troublesome curiosity of infinite swarms of people who crowded to see us. At length our linguist came to our relief, accompanied by an inferior mandarin, who had orders to conduct us to the *Titou*. We were received with extraordinary pomp and grandeur, but very little respect of civility, for he refused us the privilege of sitting in his presence, though he promised it before we would enter, adding withal that if our sovereign were there he must stand as well as we. When we mentioned our business, he answered

that it depended wholly upon the *Taye*, and that we must apply to him. Glad that we had no more to do with so haughty a man, we took our leave, and returned to a pitiful lodging provided for us by a Chinaman, who came passenger with us from Batavia.

July 28.—This morning being appointed for our audience of the *Taye*, we refused to appear before him unless he would allow us chairs. We thought it absolutely necessary for the honour and interest of our masters to insist upon this mark of distinction, foreseeing that if once we submitted to be treated with as little ceremony as the mandarins use towards the merchants of their own country, whom they place in a very low and contemptible rank, neither we nor those who follow us would ever be able to recover such a step, but probably as foreigners be sunk still lower; and, what is worse, we should thereby give up that right which we claim of making our own terms with the mandarins, and of contesting with them any new or unjust impositions with which they may endeavour to load our commerce.

The *Taye* was at last with some difficulty prevailed upon to order us chairs; but, to lessen the honour done us, he seated his own linguist and ours directly over against us. We acquainted him with our design in coming to this place, stating that we were English merchants belonging to the Honourable the East India Company, who had formerly traded to Chusan; that the abuses of the merchants and the injustice and impositions of the mandarins had forced them to desert that port; that *the favourable accounts which they had lately received of the inclinations of the mandarins of Ningpo to encourage a trade with Europeans, had induced them to send us hither with orders to propose and begin it if we could obtain reasonable terms*; that if we were kindly received and well used he might be assured the Company would annually send ships to this port, the advantages whereof, we supposed, were by this time sufficiently known. The *Taye* expressed himself very well satisfied with our

proposals, and ready to do us all the good offices in his power. He said he knew the English had been ill-used at Chusan, but that he would take care they should have no reason for any such complaint in time to come ; that whereas they had formerly paid large sums for port charges, they should now be entirely free from all demands of that kind, the *Measurage* only excepted, which belonging to the emperor, and being exacted from his own subjects, could not be remitted to us. To show his willingness to serve us, he desired that we would lay before him the particulars of the cargo we had brought, and of that we intended to purchase ; and he would immediately send to Soutcheou for merchants, who would take off the one and provide the other. As soon as the latter was ready, he would send it down to us at Chusan.

We were sorry to find that the answer of the *Taye* implied that we must lie with our ship at Chusan, and that there were no merchants at Ningpo fit to undertake our business. We, however, thanked him for his friendly offers ; but withal told him that before we entered on trade it was necessary he should agree to certain conditions which we had to propose, in order to preserve a good understanding between us, and prevent differences ; and this the rather because no English had ever transacted their business at Ningpo, and we could not submit to the terms formerly imposed at Chusan. The *Taye* replied that he was not then at leisure, but would see us again in the afternoon ; and so dismissed us.

At the hour appointed an inferior mandarin gave us notice that it was time to wait again on the *Taye*. We immediately set out for his palace, where we attended an hour or two in a dirty little outhouse, employed as a guard-room, amidst a mob mingled with ragged soldiers ; and probably must have waited much longer, had we not shown our resentment of such unhandsome usage by threatening and attempting to go away without seeing the *Taye*. This produced a message that he was ready to see us, and, being

thereupon introduced, we complained that though we came exactly at the time set and upon notice formerly given us, we were made to attend so long and in such a manner before we could gain admittance. The *Tay*, without making a direct apology, professed to be angry with his servants for their neglect.

In this audience we began to lay before the *Tay* the Articles of the Memorial prepared by us at Batavia, under date Jan. 8, namely:—

1.—That our ship may come as near Ningpo as the depth of water will allow.

2.—That no demand be now or henceforth made of our sails, rudder, powder, arms, or ammunition.

3.—That we have full liberty to come ashore or go aboard whenever we please.

4.—That when the supercargoes, captain, or principal officers, are in the pinnace with a flag hoisted, she shall not be obliged to stop at any *Hoppo* house, nor be subject to search.

5.—That no Englishman's person be searched upon any account.

6.—That we may choose, change, or dismiss our linguist and other Chinese servants as we see cause.

7.—That we may hire a factory at Ningpo, where and of whom we please.

8.—That we be allowed the same favour and privileges in trade which the Emperor's native subjects enjoy.

9.—That we be not confined, or obliged to deal with any particular merchants, but have free liberty to trade with any whom we ourselves shall think fit to employ; and that all the Chinese merchants in general have the same full liberty to trade with us.

10.—That no more than the Emperor's stated duties be exacted upon any account, or for any goods imported or exported by us; and that we may pay those duties ourselves.

11.—That we may land or ship goods when we think fit, upon paying the said regular duties.

12.—That all with whom we deal have the same privilege as far as we are concerned.

13.—That no soldiers, or *Hoppo* officers, be stationed in or near our factory, or on board our ship.

14.—That we may repair the ship; and purchase all stores, provisions, and other necessities of whom we please.

15.—That we may build a *banksal* ashore, and send thither, or bring aboard again, all the ship's stores and provisions without hindrance or examination.

16.—That no duties be demanded upon liquors, provisions, stores, or other necessities brought ashore, or carried on board.

17.—That silver be duty free, and brought ashore whenever we desire it.

18.—That as we represent the Honourable the East India Company; we be treated with respect by all the Chinese; and that if any of them abuse or injure a European, he be suitably punished by the mandarins; and if a European injure or maltreat a Chinese, we may punish him ourselves by our own law.

19.—That for the better despatch of business, and the redress of grievances, we may have free access to your presence whensoever we desire it; and that none presume to hinder or delay us.

20.—That our grand *Chop* be delivered us upon first demand and notice that the ship is laden, or ready to depart.

21.—That a *Chop* containing a full and express grant of all these privileges be immediately issued and delivered to us, in order to be affixed to our factory gate for the information of all concerned.

These are the conditions upon which we propose to trade. If you are pleased to comply with them, we will instantly set about business; and the Company will be encouraged by our success to send their ships yearly to this port: but if you think fit to reject our proposals, or delay coming to a resolution, we must in either case make the best of our way to Canton; for we cannot trade here upon any other terms than those above recited, nor will the nature of our affairs allow us to lose any time.

To our first demand, that the ship might come as high as the depth of water and the conveniency of the harbour would allow, the mandarin answered, that she could not come up to Ningpo, because there was not water enough upon the bar; and though there even were, yet without the Emperor's express leave he could not suffer her to come higher than Chusan, which therefore was the port where we must lie. As we could not deny what he said of the depth of water upon the bar, we replied that Chusan was on many accounts inconvenient for our business; that we could not think of returning to a port where the English had been so grossly abused; and that we should therefore choose some other harbour nearer Ningpo. Hereupon the *Tay* named another place about three miles distant from Chusan, towards Ningpo; to which when we objected that our ship lying there would be as much in the power and

jurisdiction of the mandarins of Chusan as if she were in the very port—he owned it; and added, that the case was the same in all places between the bar and Chusan; but that he would answer for our being well-used. We did not think proper to assent directly to this overture; but told him, that in case we brought the ship into that or any other harbour, we should still insist upon having a factory at Ningpo, where we might reside with as many of our people as we should have occasion for, transact all our business, have our imports and exports examined or *chopped*, and pay all duties upon them; so that we, our ship, boats, goods, and persons, should be liable to no rummage, search, demands, or charges of any kind at any other place. To all this the *Taye* agreed; and so we proceeded to the next Article.

The second Article, relating to the delivery of our sails, rudder, arms, and powder, produced a warm debate. The *Taye* insisted, with much heat, that we must give up our arms if we intended to trade; while we positively declared that we could not part with them upon any account, and when we desired to know his reasons for this demand, he had nothing to urge in support of it, but former custom and the will of the mandarins. Still he seemed to think it strange that we were not satisfied; asking us why we came thither if we would not comply with the custom of the country, nor submit to the orders of the Government? We used all the arguments that occurred to us to convince him that the custom and the demand now founded on it were altogether unreasonable. We told him that the English had formerly been forced to submit to it at Chusan; and this, among other bad customs, had occasioned their leaving that port; that the mandarins at Canton, where we had traded for many years, made no such demand, nor had our behaviour ever given them occasion for it, seeing we carried and used arms for our own defence only, and not to annoy others; that we came hither in hopes of being better, not worse treated, than at Canton;—that if we had not as much favour

shown us here as there, we must in common prudence return thither, where we knew we should be welcome. What we said appeared to make no impression on the *Taye*, for he still appealed to custom, repeating a maxim to the effect that custom was law; adding, that as the mandarins of Canton had their peculiar customs, so those of Ningpo had theirs, and that strangers ought to conform to the customs of the place. At length, waiving the point in dispute, he again desired the particulars of our cargo and intended investments, because before he could determine what conditions he could grant us, he must see the nature of our proposed trade. The *Diary* proceeds to state that the supercargoes complied with this requisition in a great measure, concealing only about one-third part of their treasure. The *Taye* seemed surprised and disappointed at the smallness of their stock, and his countenance visibly fell. The supercargoes observing this said, as an apology, that this ship only came to make trial of the port, that the next would be richer, and that not having their papers with them they could not then give an exact account of the cargo. Whereupon he said that he would send a messenger to their lodgings for a more exact account, and so dismissed them.

July 29.—Two of the *Taye's* retinue came to the supercargoes' lodgings by his order; to whom they gave such an account of the ship's stock and designed investment as they judged would be agreeable to the mandarins, and consistent with the Company's views in sending them to that port. They also sent by these officers a copy of the *Memorial* which they had prepared at Batavia (inserted under the abstract of yesterday's proceedings), to be delivered to the *Taye*, as containing the only conditions upon which they proposed to trade. When they were gone, the linguist told the supercargoes that these messengers had privately assured him that "we should not be allowed to trade here, not only because we refused to deliver our arms at Chusan, and submit implicitly to the orders of the man-

darins; but for another very remarkable reason, namely, because our stock was so small that the *Taye* could not get above three or four thousand tael by us, which was not worth his while."

In the afternoon the supercargoes again waited upon the *Taye* by appointment, to know from his own mouth his sentiments, after reading the papers which they had sent him in the morning. They found him as obstinate as ever in demanding the ship's arms, and they repeated that they could not part with them whatever were the consequence, having express orders to the contrary. Both parties were inflexible; and the *Taye* returned this short and decisive answer: that "we might depart as soon as we pleased, for he should hearken to no propositions of trade unless we carried our ship into Chusan, and there delivered up all her arms, great and small." In vain the supercargoes endeavoured to argue the matter farther; he appealed to former custom, offering to produce the old *Chops* of Chusan, as irrefragable vouchers against them.

The supercargoes, perceiving from the arbitrary tone of the *Taye* that the former bad customs and practices at Chusan were likely to be the standard of their treatment, told him they would immediately repair on board, and proceed to Canton, desiring only that he would grant an order for supplying the ship with fresh provisions till a fair wind offered. He replied that he would permit them to buy what provisions they wanted, but forbade their going to Chusan for that purpose. Same time he acquainted them that he had written to the *Tsong-tou* (spelt in the earlier papers *Chuntuck*) about the ship's arms; that he expected an answer in four days, his residence being at Hang-tcheou; and that, as perhaps the superior viceroy might grant an order in their favour, he would have them stay till the messenger returned. On receiving this communication, the supercargoes observed to the *Taye*, that as the dispute about the ship's arms related to only one article in the *Memorial*, they desired to know whether he had resolved

to grant them the rest, in case the *Tsong-tou* should concede the point about the arms, for if not it was but losing time to wait for the superior viceroy's answer. He replied that "he would not grant them, that if we expected to trade here we must obey his orders and not prescribe rules to him; that if we would not do so we might go as soon as we pleased."

On this declaration the supercargoes took a formal leave of this obstinate man, offering to convey his commands to Canton, and designing to set out for the ship in a few hours. The *Taye*, however, obstructed their departure, ordering that they be not suffered to pass down until he had received the *Tsong-tou's* answer. Although they expected little good from this delay, the supercargoes submitted to it rather than embroil their affairs by forcing a passage.

July 30.—All this while (four days) our two boats' crews had been forced to remain constantly on board, there being no convenience for them to sleep on shore. In order to relieve them, the supercargoes applied for a *Chop* permitting the seamen to go down to the ship with the boats, to return in six days. After creating various difficulties, the *Tsong-ye*, with another mandarin, brought the *Chop* to our lodgings, permitting our men to go down, attended by a Chinese guard-boat; but announcing that the English boats must not return without a particular order. The supercargoes objected to this unfair restraint; on which the mandarins said, that if our boats did come up again they must bring no arms. It was alleged in answer, that our boats carried arms only for their own protection and not for offence; and that an English boat which omitted this precaution had been surprised and plundered in the river of Canton. The supercargoes added that they would rather go for good and all, than have the Company's servants and property exposed to robbers without the means of defence. At length the mandarins delivered the *Chop*, allowing the boats both to go and return.

August 5.—The *Titou* being recalled, had set out for Peking on the 1st, and this day his successor entered on his office. The supercargoes went to his palace to pay him their respects. After they had waited some time, a messenger from the new *Titou* inquired whether they wished to be introduced. They answered that they would do what was most agreeable to him, provided that if he thought fit to see them they might have the honour to sit in his presence. The *Titou* consenting, they were admitted and seated. He behaved very gracefully, and spoke mildly and civilly, asking a few questions about their business. He said the *Taye* had just been with him about it, who did not think the three or four thousand tael he should get by it worth his while; he was, moreover, afraid of some ill consequences to his people, from our sailors getting drunk and quarrelling. The supercargoes answered that although the profits from trading with a single ship might be small, it should be recollected that the Company had sent her only to make trial of the port, and if she were well used they would send thither many rich ships, in proportion to the encouragement received. They then adverted to the *Memorial*, which they had presented to the *Taye*, containing the conditions on which they proposed to trade. The *Titou* replied, that the affair rested wholly with the *Taye*, and, referring the supercargoes to that officer, dismissed them.

Accordingly, on the same day they waited on the *Taye*, and were told by him, in one word, that "we must import our ship into Chusan harbour, there deliver up all our arms, and in every thing else submit to his orders, or he would allow us no trade here." The supercargoes replied that they could not recede from the proposed conditions; and if these were not granted, they must resign all thoughts of this port, and return to Canton; concluding with a request that the *Taye* would order some boats to carry them down. This he refused, but said that they might send for their own boats to come up again, and go when they would.

August 4.—The supercargoes record in the *Diary* the result of some inquiries into the trade of Ningpo. It seems (speaking in 1736) rather to have been, than to be, a place of great commerce; there is but a small appearance of business, either in the river, the harbour, or the city; we have been visited by no merchants, nor can we hear of one in the place fit to undertake our designed investments. Coarse China-ware, of such sorts as the Chinese themselves use, is indeed to be seen in the shops: but we cannot meet with a single catty of good or rather *true, tea*, though we want it extremely for our own use, and have taken no small pains to procure it; nay, that which the mandarins themselves drink is but very indifferent. This is somewhat strange in a place where everybody drinks tea, and where the best is so very near; for we are informed that a person may go in about twenty-four days to Vow-y-shaen (the Bohea country), which is in Fokien, and return by Sung-lo-shaen (the Singlo tea country), which is in the province of Nanking, reaching it in twenty days; and in ten days more proceed to Jao-tchu, where the China-ware is made; or in twenty days to King-te-chin, another place for manufacturing China-ware. As the Chinese travel generally by water, in going from a maritime to an inland place, they have the stream against them; and in returning, the reverse; which circumstances increase or lessen the time of the passage. The *Diary* states that the person from whom the supercargoes received this account was born in the Singlo tea country: nevertheless an original marginal note states, that "what is here said about Hyson tea" (the cost price where it is produced, and the carriage of it down to Ningpo), "is not to be believed." It is, therefore, not extracted.

The best raw silk, for which this province is famous, was last year at 98 tael per pecul; but the great demand for it at Canton has raised it this year to 120. Tutenague is to be had, but not in great quantity, nor cheap, being above 7 tael per pecul. Quicksilver is unusually scarce.

and dear, namely, at 50 tael per pecul; its present scarcity was occasioned by an irruption of some neighbouring enemies into the country which produces it, and this warfare interrupted the working of the mines. The Chinese represent that the province was depopulated for 150 leagues round, but had recently—that is, half a year previous to August, 1736—been pacified. The merchants who collect the productions of distant provinces for the port of Ningpo, reside at *Soutcheon*, about five days' journey off, and come hither periodically: they have in their hands all the gold that is to be purchased here. The market price of gold is now — [the sum is not intelligible, owing to some clerical error in the copy].

One of the *Taye's* attendants gave the supercargoes an account of port duties, including those to the Emperor, and fees on *Crops* to the mandarins: acknowledged to be imperfect, and the figures are evidently incorrect. It is therefore omitted.

As to the measurage, the supercargoes could learn no more than that the rates of junks are determined by their breadth only, without regard to their length or depth; but the proportional sums they could not come at. When the *Taye's* officers were questioned as to the measurage for the English ships at Ningpo, they declared that they could not tell without seeing the records at Chusan.

August 6. — [The supercargoes state: Having considered the *Taye's* answer on the 3rd to determine the affair against us, we were surprised with a visit from an inferior mandarin, accompanied by a merchant of Quang-nan; who said, that he came from the *Tsong-ping* of Chusan, to adjust, if possible, the differences between us and the *Taye*; that if we could once open a trade with this port, we should quickly find it preferable to Canton. To enable him to use his good offices in this affair, he desired a copy of our *Memorial*. This we gave him. The merchant of Quang-nan read it over in our presence, with the mandarin that introduced him, and objected to nothing

material, except our claiming a right to punish our own people. At last we compounded that matter, by consenting that if a European killed a Chinese, unless it were in his own defence, he should be tried by the mandarins according to the laws of China; but that they should not interfere in any affair whatever where Europeans only were concerned. Upon this he left us, saying he would carry our paper to the *Taye*, and in a day's time bring us his final answer.

August 7. — Late in the evening the merchant of Quang-nan returned, and told us from the *Taye* that we must go to Chusan, and settle the point relating to our arms with the mandarins of that place. We answered that we had nothing to do with the mandarins of Chusan; but with those of Ningpo, where we came to trade. However, for our own satisfaction, we asked him, supposing that we gave up our arms, would the *Taye* agree to the other articles of our *Memorial*? He answered in the negative. And we explained that no privileges which he could offer would induce us to part with our arms. He replied, we might go when we pleased, and so left us.

At a consultation on the unpromising aspect of the negotiation, particularly adverting to the demand made of the ship's arms, which the supercargoes could not deliver up without violating their instructions and exposing the ship and cargo to the peril of being betrayed into the hands of the Chinese, it was resolved to leave Ningpo to-morrow and on reaching the ship, to wait on board, either for more favourable terms from the mandarins, or a fair wind for Canton.

August 8. — Set out in our boats for the ship, and arrived down the next day.

August 12. — A messenger* from the mandarin Chusan came on board, to communicate the *Copy of the*

* It was afterwards discovered that this pretended messenger was an impostor. — "Court Instructions to Supercargoes of the *Ship of Honour*." November 27, 1754.

Letter written by the *Tsong-ton* to the Government of Ningpo, reciting Orders which he had made to induce us to trade at Chusan. The purport was as follows :

That the *Tsong-ton* had heard that a European ship was at anchor near Hitto Point; but it was uncertain whether she came with a design to trade, because both the mandarins and the merchants had formerly imposed greatly upon the English at Chusan. If the ship trade, he orders that she pay neither anchorage nor presents; that the mandarins exact no more upon any goods imported or exported by her than the regular duties paid to the Emperor by his own subjects, and even abate something of them if we should think them too high, to encourage a trade with Europeans, for which we come so great a distance. He also orders the ship to go into Chusan Harbour, and there put ashore her arms of all sorts. If we meet with unjust dealings, he threatens the offenders with severe punishment. He grants us liberty to deal with whom we please. He forbids the mandarins to trade, or interpose their authority except in cases of complaint. He enjoins the merchants to undertake no more than they can perform; to ask reasonable prices for their goods, and fulfil their contracts. Lastly, he orders that the ship be not detained after she is laden, nor carry any Chinese out of the country.

This letter was as favourable as we could have wished, in everything but the order to deliver our arms. On our objecting to this part, the person who brought it said, that he believed the mandarins of Chusan would give up that point upon our going thither; and write, in our favour to the *Tsong-ton*, that the English, being peaceable men, might safely be trusted with their arms: and therefore, in order to engage us to trade, they (the mandarins of Chusan) had consented to let us keep them.

As the mandarins seemed to have altered their minds, we began also to change ours, and to flatter ourselves with new hopes of success: still upon our talking more cheerfully

the messenger, he acknowledged that the merchants not being accustomed to deal in the goods specified in our list of investments, could not deliver any part of our cargo in less than five months; nor would they advance their own money to purchase them; and that we must deposit the full amount of the contract in the hands of the two *Tayes* of Ningpo and Chusan, who would thereupon become sureties for the merchant to perform his contract. If we refused to transact business on these terms, it were needless for us to go to Chusan or see the mandarins any more.

At a consultation connecting this ambiguous overture from the Government at Chusan, with what had passed at Ningpo, the supercargoes resolved to proceed to Canton.

Still under the same date (August 12), the *Diary* states: Though we could not succeed here, yet it is possible that another ship may have better fortune; in order therefore that the *Tsong-tou's* favourable offers might not be quite lost, we got the following paper translated into Chinese, and sent it by the messenger who came from Chusan.

Letter from the supercargoes of the *Normanton*, addressed to the *Taye* of Ningpo, eight days before they sailed from Chusan:—

"So much time has already been lost in disputing the conditions on which we proposed to trade here, and without which no English ship will ever trade in any port of China, and so much more is required by the merchants for delivering [providing] the goods which we want, and for which they most unreasonably demand the full price to be advanced them upon contract, that we think fit to make use of the fair wind which now offers to carry us to Canton. Nevertheless, if the mandarins of Ningpo resolve to encourage a trade with the English by complying with the terms which we proposed, and will send to us at Canton a *Chop* containing a particular grant of the several privileges enumerated in our *Memorial*, to be henceforth enjoyed by all our countrymen that shall frequent this port, you [the *Taye* of Ningpo] may certainly expect a Company's ship here next season: in hopes whereof, and with thanks for all your favours,

"We are, &c., &c.,

"(Signed) ANDREW REID,

"CHARLES RIGBY.

"FREDERICK PIGOÛ."

August 12 to 15.—After the supercargoes had de-

spatched a messenger with the preceding letter, the ship got under sail ; but at night a contrary wind forced her to return to her former anchorage.

August 15.—Were informed by the commander of a war junk sent down on purpose, that the *Taye* of Ningpo was still at Chusan ; and that he, with the *Tsong-ye** of that place, desired to see us there. Agreed therefore, in consultation, to wait upon them, to try if better terms could be obtained than those offered by their messenger on the 12th ; or at least the *Chop* applied for in our letter to the *Taye* of Ningpo. Our visit was to embrace the further objects of securing a harbour for the ship if detained by adverse weather ; and to settle the dispute, about delivering up the ship's arms, with the mandarin of Chusan.

August 16.—Ordered the *Normanton* to remain at anchor off Gough's Passage, until further directed.

August 17.—At two in the morning set out for Chusan ; midway, another messenger from the mandarins had provided for us a better lodging than that we had at Ningpo, of which we had justly complained. About three in the afternoon we arrived, and were conducted to the house of an inferior mandarin, where, though treated with great civility, we were detained three hours before we could see a superior member of the Government. At length it was announced to us that our first visit must be to the *Tsong-ping* of the place, whose title of honour is *Tsong-ye*. On waiting upon him we were received with great state, and more respect than had been shown us at Ningpo. This mandarin has the character of a mild, good-natured man ; and his conduct is so well approved at Court, that he has kept his station here these ten years. When we discoursed on business, he told us that if our ship came into Chusan harbour, it was the Emperor's pleasure that we should bring ashore all our arms ; and that he could neither dispense with his orders nor abate from his dues. This declaration surprised us after the messages we had received,

* *Chung-ye*, the *Chung-ping*'s title of honour.

and the regard which we had calculated would be paid to the letter addressed by the *Tsong-tou* of Chusan to the Government of Ningpo, as it was reported to us. We replied that we had already spent much time in endeavouring to negotiate with the *Taye* of Ningpo, to whom we had delivered a *Memorial* of the privileges desired ; from which we could not recede, and especially not from the stipulation to keep the ship's arms, which our honourable employers had forbidden us to deliver. We then adverted to the successive messages sent from the mandarins, leading us to expect that they would accede to our terms ; and to the copy of the *Tsong-tou's* letter which accompanied one of them, professing to allow us some immunities with respect to duties. The *Tsong-ye* rejoined that we were deceived, for the messenger had no orders to give us any such hopes, and in short that what we proposed could not be done. The *Tsong-ye* then exhorted us not to be afraid in trusting the mandarins, who were now good and honest men ; so that though the English had formerly suffered by their injustice, nothing of that kind was to be apprehended in future. We told him that we believed the mandarins deserved the high character given to them, but that we could not act contrary to our orders, and that no English ship would ever trade at Chusan upon such conditions as the mandarins now prescribed. Being then asked if our arms were not demanded at Canton, and having answered in the negative, the *Tsong-ye* said that every place had its peculiar customs, which could not be altered. We therefore desired permission to supply our ship with water and provisions until a fair wind offered for Canton. This being readily granted we took leave, and returned to a sorry lodging provided for us by an inferior mandarin.

August 18.—Being pressed to pay our respects to the *Hien-quan*, who is said to be a man of opulence and influence with the superior mandarins, and desirous of promoting a trade with Europeans ; we went to his house, where we were treated with more civility than we had ever

seen in China. But we soon found he had but little power here, nor pretended to more than use his good offices to accommodate our differences. After telling the supercargoes that the Emperor's order required that the ship's arms should be delivered up at Chusan, and that it was not in the power of the mandarins of this place to dispense with it, the *Hien-quæn* endeavoured to persuade the supercargoes to consent to give up a part of their arms, and to await the result of an application from the sub-government to the Viceroy of the two provinces, inquiring whether that compromise would be accepted. This the supercargoes refused, saying that unless the mandarins would allow them to enter on business on the terms specified in their *Memorial*, they would not hazard losing the alternative of going to Canton that season by further delay. The *Hien-quæn*, after noticing the propositions in the *Memorial* as inadmissible, intimated that several merchants in the province were jealous of the Company, and enemies to the success of this voyage of the *Normanton*, fearing that "*we should interfere with their business, and diminish their profits, by importing and exporting the same commodities for, and with which they trade to Batavia.*" The supercargoes had before suspected, that some such oblique interest might be at work, to defeat the Company's effort to open the port of Ningpo.

They then, considering this mandarin inclined to promote their design, proposed that he should be their agent to obtain the *Chop* mentioned in their letter to the *Tays* of Ningpo, of the 12th current, and send it to them at Canton; on the faith of which they would guarantee that an English ship should come to Chusan the following season. This the *Hien-quæn* refused to undertake as a thing impracticable. The supercargoes, therefore, finding nothing more could be obtained, asked and obtained permission for a supply of necessaries, and were dismissed in a handsome manner.

Having returned to their lodgings, the supercargoes sent

their linguist to inquire whether the *Taye* of Ningpo had any commands for, or desired to see, them. The linguist brought word that they should have an answer in the afternoon; which was that, since they would not deliver their arms, he had nothing further to say to them.

August 19.—The supercargoes returned on board the ship, then at anchor near Gough's Passage.

August 20.—The *Normanton*, by their directions, sailed for Canton.

Note.—The *Canton Diary*, under date January 16, 1736–7, contains an outline of the above described proceedings at Ningpo and Chusan, in a letter from the supercargoes of the *Normanton* to the supercargoes of Company's shipping for China that shall next arrive at Batavia. The *Diary* of ship *Harrison*, under date Batavia, June 6, 1737, contains a copy of the same letter.

Instructions by the Court to Messrs. Barne, Lethieullier, and Misenor, supercargoes of ship *Harrison*, bound for Limpo, dated London, December 22, 1736:—

The only variation in these instructions from those for the *Normanton*, in the previous year, directs that, in case the advices which the Court had ordered the *Normanton's* supercargoes to leave at Batavia were unfavourable to the hope of a profitable trade at Lingpo, the *Harrison* was to proceed direct for Canton.

Notice in diary of Messrs. Barne, Lethieullier, and Misenor, supercargoes of ship *Harrison* bound to Limpo.

May 26, 1737.—Anchored in Batavia Road. Here they received a letter from the supercargoes of the *Normanton*, dated Canton, Jan. 15, 1736–7, detailing the total failure of their attempt to reopen the trade at Limpo. In consequence, the supercargoes of the *Harrison* ordered her commander to proceed direct for Canton.*

* An interval of about seventeen years elapsed before the Company made another attempt to open a trade at Ningpo.

THE VOYAGES OF 1753-6.

Instructions by the Court to Mr. Samuel Harrison, dated Dec. 19, 1753 :—

Paragraph 1.—As it will be greatly for the Company's interest to open and establish a trade at the Port of Limpao, otherwise called Ningpo, in China, the Court, being of opinion that it may be easily effected by prudent management, appoint Mr. Harrison, who was already at Canton acting as a supercargo, to conduct the enterprise.

Paragraph 6.—To negotiate with the Mandarins of Ningpo [as having superior authority to those at Chusan].

Paragraphs 2 and 3.—Authorize Harrison to select from any Company's ship that may be at Canton in the year 1754 an officer not higher in rank than third mate, two midshipmen, and some English seamen, to act under his orders in a voyage to Ningpo. To hire a vessel at Macao, completing her crew with country seamen.

Adverting to reports lately propagated at Canton, that the attempt for opening the Port of Limpo was likely to fail, the supercargoes of the *Anson* insert in their *Diary* (August 22, 1755) the following letter from Mr. James Flint, which satisfied them that those reports were false :—

GENTLEMEN,—Having an opportunity by some merchants that are going towards your way, I thought it might be of some satisfaction to you to hear of our success at this place. We left Macao on the 2nd May [the copy of the letter wants the date], and had a very tedious passage. On the 24th we arrived at the island Quesan. On the 28th a man-of-war came to us, and on 2nd June we got into Chusan. As soon as we came to an anchor, both the civil and military mandarins came on board to know what we came there for ; which we soon gave the man account of to their great satisfaction, finding we came there to trade. They behaved very civilly, and as complaisant as they could to us ; but made a difficulty of our going any farther till they had heard from Limpo. For three or four days the ship was like a fair, so many people coming on board. We went into the city to visit the mandarin ; upon which they opened the middle doors to receive us, which is as great an honour as they could pay to anybody. The 7th, in the morning, we set out in a country boat for Limpo, and at night got there. The next day, being rainy weather, we could not go anywhere, but our house, such an one as it was (for they are in general very bad), was so thronged with people to see us strangers, that the landlord was obliged to

apply to the mandarins for soldiers to keep them off. We went into the city to visit the mandarins, and they behaved very civilly, but told us that we could do nothing till the *Hoppo* who had the charge of the customs came, he being at the capital. In two days after we arrived he came to Limpo; we went to see him, and he received us very handsomely, not as the *Hoppo* of Canton does, though this man is as considerable. He seemed very well pleased at our coming, and said he would do everything to encourage our trade. Mr. Harrison delivered him a paper, in the country language, of the privileges that must be granted if we traded to this place; in all nineteen *Articles*. As to the guns: not to be taken out of the ship; that we should be upon the same footing as the country people, and as their vessels that sail to foreign parts. In respect to which he granted *seventeen* of the *nineteen*; and the other ~~two~~, being of the least consequence, Mr. Harrison thought it best not to stand out with him, as he granted the rest. Upon our getting up to come home, he desired, as we came in the name of the Company, to see their orders to Mr. Harrison, and I explained them to his great satisfaction. And then he told us that we might be easy, for we should be allowed much greater privileges and be treated with more complaisance than any of their own merchants, and that we might see him, or any of the mandarins, when we pleased. The *Articles* that were agreed upon have been confirmed by the *Foyen*, and an order is come for their being published at all the city gates, and one at our factory. Here are but two or three merchants yet arrived from other places, and I cannot hitherto get any prices of goods; but our prospect is very fair that we shall do well, and especially if there should be a ship from Bombay, for the charges and customs of the place will not be half of what it is at Canton,* the *Hoppo* having sent us a book that we may not be imposed on. Mr. Harrison and we are all in high spirits, in expectation of the ship's arrival every day. Wishing you all health and happiness,

I remain, &c.

(Signed) JAMES FLINT.

[*Note*.—This letter must have been written from Limpo after June 7, 1755; perhaps late in July.]

Subsequent paragraphs refer to the *Normanton's Diary*, under date 1736, August 12. Mr. Pigou, one of the supercargoes in that voyage, has lately informed the Court that the man—said in that entry to come aboard, as he pretended, from the mandarins of Chusan, to communicate the contents of a letter from the *Tsong-tou* of Chusan to the *Taye* of Ningpo—was an impostor, and the letter a fiction.

* Eventually these anticipations were not realized. Very soon afterwards the demand for delivering up the ship's arms was refused, and the duties were raised to the level of those at Canton. See letter next cited.

This notice is to prevent the supercargoes of the *Holderness* from being misled by the entry of that communication in the *Normanton's Diary*.

Paragraph 12.—It is probable the Chinese will demand the ship's sails, rudder; guns, and ammunition to be delivered into their custody, previous to their settling the terms of trade. You must on no account comply with such demand, so as to leave the ship defenceless; but if for form's sake they will be satisfied with a sail, or a gun or two, and such a small quantity of ammunition as may be spared without hazard, we leave it to you so far to comply.

Paragraph 14.—Confer a discretion to make advances to the merchants for providing investments not exceeding £10,000.

Paragraph 15.—The Court attribute the loss of the Company's former trade at Amoy to the mandarins there having succeeded in obtaining a share of the merchants' profits. If the mandarins at Chusan or Limpo make similar attempts, the supercargoes of the *Holderness* are to resist them.

Paragraph 16.—If found necessary to make presents to the mandarins, give a guarded discretion to do so.

Paragraph 19.—If the supercargoes be not at first so successful as to make an investment for Europe in the season of 1755, but hope to accomplish it in 1756—in such case Mr. Harrison is to return home, while Messrs. Fitzhugh and Flint continue at Limpo or Chusan. After reserving £10,000. for facilitating the investment in the following season, the supercargoes of the *Holderness* are to employ the rest of the stock in purchasing Pekin *Suche* gold at 93 touch, at or under the rate of 110 taels' weight in silver for 10 taels' weight in gold.

Paragraph 24.—If this enterprize should fail at Limpo and Chusan, the *Holderness* is to go to Canton the same season.

Paragraphs 25 to 88.—Contingent and ordinary instructions.

Instructions by the Court to Messrs. Fitzhugh, Flint, and Torin, supercargoes of ship *Griffin*, bound to Limpo or to Chusan. Dated 10th October, 1755.

Paragraph 2.—In the hope that the supercargoes of ship *Holderness* had succeeded in establishing a trade at Limpo or Chusan, the ship *Griffin*, of 499 tons, was this year consigned to one or other of those ports. Messrs. Fitzhugh and Flint, two of the supercargoes, were already in China; the third, Benjamin Torin, proceeded on the *Griffin*, whose cargo for China amounted to £42,030 16s. 7d.

After delivering stores at St. Helena, she was, as time might permit, to touch either at Batavia or Macao, to procure information as to the success of the negotiation at Limpo the previous year; and from one of these places Mr. Torin was to order her to Limpo, or otherwise, according to the intelligence obtained.

Paragraph 64.—But if the supercargoes of the *Holderness* had failed in their attempts to trade at Limpo, the cargo of the *Griffin* was to be disposed of at Canton.

Abstract letter from Messrs. Fitzhugh, Flint, and Torin, addressed to the supercargoes of the next ship appointed for Limpo. Dated Chusan, January 25, 1757.*

"Enclose an account of the *Holderness* and *Griffin's* import and export cargoes; a price current for 1756; the mode of paying the duties; the prices of provisions *annis* 1755 and 1756; the amount of presents agreed to be given; an account of 103 chests of Bohea tea left at Limpo; and the *twenty* articles of trade first delivered to the *Towya* by Mr. Harrison.

"And as the trade we hope is now settled, we acquaint you with a few particulars that have happened in conducting it the first two years.

"On the arrival of Mr. Harrison [in June, 1755] the *Towya* and *Fooyeen* were so desirous of giving him encouragement that they conceded to almost all the *Articles* in the memorial he presented them with; but in doing this they greatly exceeded their power, for about a week after the *Holderness* arrived, the *Tsong-tou*, who was then in the province of Fokien, sent an order for all the great guns, small arms, and ammunition to be taken out of the ship, and to have the same duties paid as at Canton, or to leave the place. Though the *Fooyeen* could not act directly against this order, he did not comply with it, but sent it directly up to Court, together with an account of

* This sketches the transactions of two seasons.

what he had done, and by that means put it out of the *Tsong-tou's* power, as much as his own, to make an absolute decision.

"As it would have been the end of September before an answer could possibly arrive from Peking, the mandarins here agreed to let business begin, on condition that half the number of guns and ammunition given an account of was delivered into their possession; which, rather than detain the ship another season, was consented to. Upon which they took out twelve of the great guns, without troubling themselves about the small arms or gunpowder, and the ship was permitted to begin unloading about the end of August.

"About the close of September the order came from Court. It directed that we should pay the same duties as at Canton; and as to the guns, all that it mentioned was, that at Canton the ships kept their guns in; and that at Amoy, when the trade was there, they were taken out. This leaving the *Tsong-tou* at liberty to act as he pleased, he persisted in his first demand, and was angry with the military both of Limpo and Chusan for compromising the affair. All the time the ship stayed this mandarin gave us as much trouble as he could by ridiculous inquiries and needless examinations; which the people here attribute to his connections with the *Tsong-tou* of Canton, who has exerted all his power to upset the trade of Limpo. Nor is this surprising when it is considered what a check it would be to the Government at Canton had we another port, always open, to go to in case of new impositions there.

"Two of the principal *Articles* stipulated by Mr. Harrison—namely, those relating to the arms and the duties—were now entirely broken. As to the rest: the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, 18th, and 20th have never been complied with; and the 8th, 12th, 15th, and 16th but partially.

"When the manner of paying the duties was to be settled, the secretaries would do nothing without the promise of 1,800 tael for each ship as a present, besides a separate present for the year among the officers of 800 tael; as a gratuity for making them lighter. But when the first duties came to be paid in they insisted on 15 per cent. instead of 8, to make our money *syce*, under pretence of wastage in the melting, and charges in carrying the money to Peking. To rectify this unreasonable demand, the *Towya* was applied to, but to no purpose. As the remedy was within our own power, the present per ship was reduced to 1,200 tael; which, though it caused much dispute when the *Holderness* went away, is now fixed at that sum. As the custom-house *Pecul* is 10 per cent. lighter than ours, it was agreed to give the head weigher 545 tael. In regard to a standard *dotchin*, they consented to make one equal to ours, weigh all goods by it, and let it remain in the office, as a precedent for next year. But this being done without the *Towya's* knowledge, and not registered, it was burnt as soon as the ship went. The presents made in goods were: to the *Towya*, about 500 tael in cloth; and to the other mandarins, 280 tael in watches and trinkets. The above is all that was given on account of the ship.

"The whole business of the year [1755] was conducted with some difficulty, since the first magistrate of the province discountenanced it to the utmost of his power. Messrs. Harrison, Fitzhugh, and Flint tried without success to fix a residence here, and the two latter were forced to go to Batavia, there to wait for the next ship consigned to Limpo.

"Fitzhugh and Flint, having been joined at Batavia by Benjamin Torin, arrived at Chusan in the *Griffin*, on July 10, 1756. They found that in the absence of Fitzhugh and Flint many falsities had been told to the mandarins by the people of the *Hong*, where the *Holderness* was entered, of her supercargoes not having paid them according to agreement, and of their (the Chinese merchants) losing a good deal of money by them. Although the *Towya* had listened to their aspersions, supercargoes Fitzhugh and Flint say: 'On our first visit after returning in the *Griffin*, we soon convinced him in how villainous a manner Hanquan and Suquan, our last year's *Hongists*, had behaved both in regard to him and us; and same time let him know we designed Sequan for our *Hongist*, and desired a *Chop* for that purpose, which the *Towya* consented to give.'

"As Hanquan and Suquan had, against the remonstrance of the supercargoes of the *Holderness*, levied 3 per cent. on all the imports, and 1 per cent. on all the exports, we made Sequan enter into an agreement on the following terms:—To have 600 tael for his trouble in doing the business; 100 tael for the expense of the mandarins' diet, when the ship is discharging and loading; and 1,200 tael to answer for all presents to the mandarins at going away. Besides this we helped him by sending our green teas to his warehouse, on which he had 3 per cent., as at Canton.

"The *Towya*, at this first visit, let us know that the *Tsong-tou* still remained our enemy, and that we must compromise the affair of the arms, as had been done the year before, by delivering up half, which he did accordingly. The quantity of which we returned an account was 30 muskets, 12 pistols, 20 cutlasses, 70 shot, 4 barrels of gunpowder, and the full number of great guns. These quantities agreed with those returned for the *Holderness* last year, and are nearly the same as are given an account of at Canton.

"The arrival of the *Hardwick* from Bombay about the middle of August put the *Tsong-tou* so much out of humour that he declared all the great guns should come out of both ships, and we were once afraid that the country ships would have been sent away. On which account, and to make things easy, we sent on shore all the powder and small arms given an account of, and after Mr. Ross had done the same, he was allowed to begin business. The mandarins wanted to see the powder-room, which we would by no means permit.

"We gave the *Towya* and secretaries 1,100 tael for altering the *Parul* and *Covid*, and settling the tares of the chests, which is registered in the office. This is all we have given this year, except 455 tael in furs, glass, and carpets, sent out for that object.

"Both Capt. Court and Capt. Delhick concur in opinion that it is next to impossible for a ship of the same tonnage as theirs to ascend the river in safety; so that any attempt of that sort we suppose will not now be thought of. Having the factory at Linpo and the ship at Chusan is very inconvenient, as it is the cause of many delays, and exposes the goods to damage by bad weather in winter and to pilferage by the boatmen; besides this, it distresses the *Hongist*, who has two sets of mandarins to deal with. If you could have the *Towya* to reside at Chusan, or obtain the privilege of going to Linpo when the supercargoes might desire it, Chusan seems the more eligible place for the factory.

"As to our business in providing investments for the *Griffin*: we did all, except the green teas, with Yongquan and Wunquan. The latter died in December, before half his Bohea tea, or a pecul of raw silk, was delivered. Yongquan assisted us to conclude the affair, by persuading three of Wunquan's people to join with him; he deserves some acknowledgment from the Company for this, among other services, rendered by him for the last two years. Our Singlo and Hyson we bought of Shing-y-quan and Te-uem-quan, two country merchants, who have behaved well in their contracts with us.

"Besides what is laden on the *Griffin*, we have bought and packed 103 chests of Bohea, and left at Limpo for 'you,' that is, for the supercargoes next arriving.

"Messrs. Flint and Bevan go to Batavia to wait for the next Limpo ship, as we could not get leave for them to stay here.

"As we were coming away, we received an edict from the *Tsongtuc*'s office; announcing, that though the duties for these two years have been easier than at Canton, yet if we are resolved to come to this port, we must expect to have them raised. And in the same edict he advises us rather to trade to Canton than here. But as the whole is written in a vague manner, we imagine it is done with no other intent than to let the *Tsongtuc* of Canton see he has done everything in his power to discourage us."

* Instructions by the Court to Messrs. Samuel Blount, and James Flint, supercargoes of ship *Onslow*, bound to Limpo. Dated November 17, 1756.

Paragraphs 3 to 11.—The Court had received a letter from Messrs. Harrison, Fitzhugh, and Flint, supercargoes of ship *Holderness*, dated Limbo, October 5, 1755, stating that "they had opened the trade at that place, and hoped to get away with a full loading in good time." Presuming upon the success of those supercargoes, the Court had about the date of that letter consigned the *Griffin* to the same port; and "being determined to prosecute this scheme of trade," now also consigned thither the *Onslow* of [] tons with a cargo value £42,821 1s. 3d. This ship, after touching at St. Helena, to deliver stores, was ordered to proceed to Batavia; and if there joined by Mr. Flint, her second supercargo (who had been engaged in the previous voyages of the *Holderness* and *Griffin*), to sail thence direct for Limpo; or otherwise intermediately to Macao, for the purpose of taking Mr. Flint on board.

* *Paragraph 15.*—As the Court had "no other infor-

mation at present . . . with regard to the trade of Limpo" than what was contained in the above-mentioned letter from the supercargoes of the *Holderness*, they abstained from giving "any very particular instructions," referring rather to the advices which the *Griffin's* supercargoes might have left, and to the experience acquired by Mr. Flint of that part of China.

Paragraph 16.—When the *Holderness* was at Limpo orders were received from Pekin, directing the same duties to be levied as at Canton; but the mandarins, being anxious to encourage the English trade, again applied to the Emperor, which the Court considered as affording some prospect of obtaining better terms at Limpo than at Canton.

Paragraph 17.—The ship's sails, rudder, guns, and ammunition were on no account to be given up, beyond the formality of delivering a gun and such other things as might be spared without inconvenience; but the Court hoped that the applications made by the supercargoes of the *Holderness* would produce the proper orders for putting us on the same footing in this respect [at Limpo] as we, and all other Europeans, at present enjoy at the port of Canton.

Paragraph 68.—If disappointed in trade at Limpo, the *Onslow's* cargo was to be disposed of at Canton.

Abstract letter from Samuel Blount and James Flint, supercargoes of the *Onslow*, to the Company. Dated Batavia, June 17, 1757:—

On June, 6, 1757, the *Onslow* arrived at Batavia; where Mr. Blount found Mr. Flint. Her long stay at Batavia was owing to her having lost her topmasts on the day before she arrived there.

Notices in diary by the supercargoes of the *Onslow*.

June 19, 1757.—Sailed from Batavia.

July 22.—Anchored at Hitto Point.

July 23.—The mandarins from the war-junks came on board, and acquainted us that we must on no account go

up to Limpo, but to Chusan, according to the orders of the *Tsongtuc*, delivered to the supercargoes of last year's ship on their departure; where we should hear further.

Left the ship in the pinnace, and about noon reached Chusan, and waited upon the mandarins, who were all assembled to receive us. They informed us that we must not expect to trade here this year upon the same advantageous terms as we had done the two last. Same time they showed us a *Chop* which had been addressed by the two *Tsongtucs* of Canton and this province to the Emperor, representing the ill consequences of our being allowed to come to this place. The substance was: That by the duties being much lower here than at Canton, all the ships would quit that port, which at present is in a flourishing condition; and that as the cargoes with which they returned to Europe were chiefly the produce of this part of the country, the Emperor lost a considerable revenue, which those goods would otherwise bring in if carried overland to Canton. The Emperor's answer was that all his ports were open to foreigners; but at the same time ordered, in case we persisted to come here, to double the duties both on the imports and exports to what was paid at Canton; which if we did not choose to agree to, we might leave the place; and said that he had rather we would confine the trade to Canton.

The mandarins then gave us the particulars of the present duties, as they were sent from Court, and desired our immediate answer, whether we would consent to pay them or not, that they might transmit it to the *Towya*, now at Limpo, whose positive orders are not to let us quit this place till we have given or refused our consent to pay the customs according to the present regulations.

We told them we were greatly surprised to find the terms of trade so much altered, when we thought everything had been settled last year; that as to giving an immediate answer, we could not, until we had examined the particulars which they had delivered to us.

When we came home we got the duties read over to us; and upon calculating them, found they were about double to what we paid last year; but if they are to be reckoned in the Canton method, they will amount to more than 144 per cent.; which it is probable they will insist upon, as they are most of them new people in the custom-house.

July 25.—The mandarins being assembled, desired to speak with us. We went accordingly, when they informed us that as a whole day had intervened since seeing us last, which they imagined was time sufficient for us to have examined the conditions of trade delivered to us, they should be glad to know to what resolution we had come, that they might report it to the *Towya*.

We replied that we had considered them; but as the gentlemen of the two preceding years had transacted their affairs with the late *Towya* in person, and as the *Towya* is the officer under whose inspection our present business had come, we insisted upon having the same privilege, and requested that they would represent this as our answer to him, which, after two hours' conference, they consented to do.

Upon talking with some of our merchants here about the cause of the great alteration in the customs, they informed us that it was entirely owing to the mandarins and merchants of Canton; that the latter had been at the expense of above 20,000 tael to bribe the officers at the Imperial Court, to represent things to our disadvantage, which, joined to the concurrent requests of the two *Tsongtucs* of Canton and this province, was the cause of the edict raising the duties.

July 26.—In the afternoon received notice that to-morrow morning a mandarin will come down hither from the *Towya* to speak to us.

At eight at night received an order from the *Changping*, the head military officer, to go on board our ship immediately; and soon afterwards another order from the *Hain*

the first civil magistrate, not to go, as then the *Touya's* anger might be incurred, and his object in sending down a mandarin frustrated. * In an hour after the *Chongping* sent us word we might stay. The unpolite behaviour of this officer we attribute partly to his being unacquainted with Europeans, being just arrived; and, in a greater degree, to his dependence on the *Tsongtuc*, whose orders he has to distress us as much as lies in his power.

July 27.—The expected mandarin arrived at Chusan. On our waiting on him, he informed us that there would be a meeting of the magistrates in the afternoon about our affairs, and desired us to attend them.

On our getting home we found a *Chop* from the *Touya*; representing that, although we had been allowed to trade here for these two years past, this port was by no means proper for Europe ships, but only for junks; and as the Emperor had raised the duties so high, he would advise us to go to Canton, where they remained on the same footing as formerly.

Meanwhile Yong-quan, our principal merchant, who could not acquire liberty before, came down and reported the following circumstances: That as to the behaviour of the mandarins here, the *Tsongtuc* only excepted, he believed their opposition only outward show, to comply with that officer's humour; and in regard to the customs, provided we would give our consent to pay them, they might be afterwards mitigated so as not to come much higher than at Canton; that we should get a cheaper cargo here, and a better price for our woollen goods. But he added these contradictory and distracting assertions—namely, that the *Touya* is addicted to liquor, which makes access to him difficult; that the people about him had consulted and agreed to distress our merchants, and to force us to deal with themselves, and therefore, unless we could prevent their scheme, he advised us on no account to stay. Same time, he informed us, that it had been a bad season for raw silk, and that the fine sort was extravagantly dear.

July 27.—We went to the assembled mandarins. They acquainted us it was the Emperor's pleasure we should trade to Canton, and not to this place; and although he did not choose absolutely to forbid us the port, yet as he had raised the duties so very high, it amounted now almost to a prohibition; they therefore advised us to go to Canton. We not having yet seen the secretaries of the customs, the only people who can explain in what manner the present duties are to be calculated, we did not think proper to give a positive answer whether we would pay them or not, but told them that though we had been informed last year that the duties would be raised this, yet we could not possibly imagine they would have been so very high; and that now we were come, although it would be greatly to our loss to go away again, yet as our trading to this port was both disagreeable to the Emperor and to the mandarins here, we did not want to force ourselves upon them. We therefore desired they would allow us provisions while we staid, which would be at least two months before the monsoon would be settled, when we intended to go to one of the Company's settlements to get a loading.

August 6.—In the evening, to our great surprise, received an order from the *Chongping* to go on board immediately, or at farthest to-morrow morning at three o'clock, when the tide would change in our favour. We sent to the *Hein*, to complain of his having given us assurances of our remaining on shore, and that now, contrary to his promises, we were ordered off at so unreasonable a time of night. He sent us word he was ashamed of the treatment we received; but that it was not in his power to prevent the *Chongping* from doing what he pleased in this particular; yet he would write up to the *Towya* that nothing could be agreed upon if we were treated in this manner.

August 7.—At four in the morning left Chusan, and went on board the first mandarin's junk at Hitto Point, and informed him, since nothing could be done at Chusan, owing to the insolence of the military, we were determined to go

up to Chin-hoye, and complain to the magistrates there of the treatment we received here.

This officer despatched a messenger to Chusan to announce our intentions, who on his return came on board and told us that the civil magistrates were extremely angry with the *Chongping*, and had actually written up to the *Towya* to complain of his behaviour, which prevented us from bringing our affairs to a conclusion.

August 9.—Received a *Chop* from the *Towya*, acquainting us he was coming down immediately to Chusan, and desiring us to be there to meet him.

Same day went ashore in the pinnace.

August 11.—The *Towya* arrived; the *Hein* sent us word that before we could see the secretaries the *Towya* required from us a visit of ceremony; which was fixed for next day.

August 12.—Waited upon the *Towya*; the audience was confined to expressions of civility.

About noon, two of the secretaries came to assure us of the favourable disposition of the *Towya*; telling us that since the *Tsongtuc* had resigned from ill-health (which news came four days past), they made no doubt but we should settle things as well as could be reasonably expected.

As these secretaries had been in office ever since our opening the trade, and we had found them honest men, before entering on business we enquired how far we might rely on the assurances of the *Towya*. We told them that we had heard that he was addicted to drinking, and was governed by his favourites and under-officers, who had concerted a scheme to force us to deal with them; to which we were determined not to submit. We must, therefore, appeal to their knowledge of the *Towya's* character. They answered that the *Towya* could drink a great deal, but did not intoxicate himself, that he was proud and loved flattery, but same time polite, and a man of honour. That he had publicly declared before he came down that as he would not interfere in the European trade himself, so he would punish

any of his officers who should attempt it. That his favourites are two old men, who were intimates with his father, and who in some measure act as tutors to the son ; that these two people will chiefly have to do with us on the part of the Government, by way of putting a little money into their pockets, but these were not the persons who desired to trade with us. They (the secretaries) knew three or four of the custom-house people, who were merchants, that would be glad to transact some of our business ; but it would be at our option whether we would permit them or not. * In regard to these custom-house merchants, we answered that they might be people of character, but it was impossible for us to have any dealings with them.

We then inquired the reason of the great alteration in the customs ; and if the Emperor had ordered them to be doubled of his own accord. The secretaries said it was owing to the mandarins and merchants of Canton ; the latter had spent above 20,000 tael in getting things represented at Court to their advantage, and to our prejudice ; the two *Tsongtucs* of Canton and this province, thus influenced, made joint requests for an edict, either to forbid us the port, or to raise the duties so as to force us from it. Although the Emperor * would not consent to the former, he could not refuse the latter to two favourites of such high rank, though he unwillingly complied.

The secretaries added that the Imperial edict did not double the duties, but left the amount to the regulation of the *Tsongtuc* here, to be confirmed at Court. The *Tsongtuc* at first proposed to make them treble what they were at Canton ; this the late *Towya* opposed, and the new regulation was modified through his interference.

All our fears being now over, and having no objections remaining except to the duties, we sat down with the secretaries to try if they could not be put upon such a footing as would justify us to our honourable employers if we consented to stay.

* The emperor was Keen Lung.

In looking over the custom-house book of rates, we found there were *three* sorts of China-ware; *two* of Bohea tea; and *two* of raw silk; and that the inferior pay a lower duty.

We therefore pitched upon the following calculation as the most advantageous for our interests that the secretaries dared to present to the *Towya*, or to which his consent could be expected, namely:—

	Ta.	m.	c.
All Blue and White China-ware to be reckoned as the second sort, which will pay per pecul about...	0	6	0
All Green Teas as Fine Teas	1	0	8
All Bohea Teas to balance at	0	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Souchong, Congou, and Pekoe, as fine	1	0	8
Raw Silk $\frac{2}{3}$ ths as fine one with another	15	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{3}$ ths as coarse			

That 20 per cent should be cut off all goods, exclusive of the teas, on the valuation duty, as well as on the stated duties. And to take away the $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to make up the difference of our weights, which are so much lighter than theirs, upon payment of our silver.

That 40 per cent. be deducted from the imports, both in weight and measure. That the ship and all goods be measured by the Canton *covid*, which is near three inches longer than the one they use at Chusan.

So that the Europe goods will come out near the same as at Canton, as will indeed the return cargo.

The only new imposition which we could not alter, was the present of 1,950 tael; ordered to be levied here this year as well as at Canton; of which the principal part goes to the Emperor.

We intimated to the secretaries that this offered compromise was to the full extent we could go for the object of not entirely losing the voyage and the season, having brought a cargo suited to the port. They endeavoured to persuade us not to leave it without completing the ship's investments, if all our proposed reductions could not be effected; saying it would not be making a precedent which

there was no probability of getting over ; witness what the duties were formerly at Canton.

At nine in the evening, the secretaries left us to make their report to the *Towya*. About eleven they returned and informed us that he had consented to everything relating to the exports. As to the deduction of 40 per cent. from the imports, he did not give them positive answer ; but they doubted not that we might gain his consent to this at a private audience. The *Towya* said he must consult the *Fooyeen*, whose acquiescence was also necessary ; but he knew that the latter was desirous of our trading here.

They added that the *Towya* was uneasy at the ship's lying at Hitto Point, lest she should be damaged in a typhoon ; he therefore sent his compliments to us, desiring that we would give orders to the captain to bring her into Chusan, to which we consented.

August 13.—Waited upon the *Towya*. He was complaisant ; promised to send a despatch to the *Fooyeen* for his answer, and assured us that, in case we stayed, there should be no alteration, except in the duties, from the terms of last year.

On his mentioning that other things should remain on the footing of last year, we represented that since the duties were raised higher than at Canton, we thought it unreasonable that the dishonourable condition of requiring us to deliver up half our great guns should continue. He replied that to make this concession was out of his province, but he would write to the *Fooyeen* about it.

August 14.—News came that the old *Tsongtuc* was dead.

August 15.—Despatched a letter to Canton to Super-cargoes Liell and Lockwood, communicating the great rise in the duties at Chusan since last year, and inquiring the price of raw silk at Canton. Woollen goods bear a good price at Chusan.

August 17.—The *Onslow* came into Chusan Harbour ; the *Towya* went on board to see the ship and muster the people.

August 24.—Waited on the *Towya*, who informed us that he had received the *Fooyeen's* orders concerning our affairs—who had agreed to the regulations of the duties on the exports, and that none of the arms or great guns belonging to the ship should be taken out. The *Towya* therefore proposed to begin unloading the ship to-morrow, saying he expected we should have no objection to stay, as so much favour had been shown to us in making things easy.

We replied that we were contented with the regulation of the exports for the present year, considering the orders from the Court at Peking, but hoped the duties on the imports would be lessened by cutting from the valuation 20 per cent. more than was deducted last year, making 40 per cent.

He told us that he had gone to the extent of his power to serve us ; that 20 per cent. was already taken off, which was not done at Canton ; and urged us to be satisfied with the concessions already made to us for the present year at least, and begin our business. We took leave without giving him a final answer, disappointed and mortified in regard to the imports. Sent for Yong-quan, and inquired if there was any hope of getting part of this extraordinary imposition taken off. He said as the *Fooyeen* had consented to every article but this, he feared there could be no farther remission this year.

We then asked Yong-quan what he would give for our woollen goods, and he offered :

For the first sort of cloth :—1 tael per *covid* = 2 tael 5 mas per yard.

For the second sort :—7 mas 5c. per *covid* = 1 tael 8-7 $\frac{1}{6}$ per yard.

For the third sort :—5 mas per *covid* = 1 tael 2-5 per yard.

For long ells :—9 tael 5 mas per piece.

We then calculated the profits at the duties at present demanded, and found they will yield above 25 per cent.

August 24.—At a consultation, recapitulating the circumstances above detailed, and particularly inferring that, as the old *Tsongtuc*, who had been the firm partisan of the Canton people, was now dead (whose support and inter-

ference had cost them so much money) there was little probability of any farther disturbance from them; thinking there was a fair prospect of having the duties soon placed upon an equitable footing, and not feeling authorized to take upon themselves so important a step as giving up the trade at Chusan while the Company are desirous of continuing it; when, by the reduced scale of valuation for the augmented duties, the whole difference of the charges here and at Canton will not exceed 2,000 tael—Supercargoes Blount and Flint resolve to comply with the demands made by the mandarins at Chusan this year, and take an investment for the *Onslow* there.

August 24.—Waited upon the *Towya* again in the afternoon. After a fruitless appeal to him to obtain a farther reduction in calculating the duties on the imports, we said, as we were here, and going elsewhere for a cargo would be attended with a great loss, we were obliged to comply with the Chinese Government's present demand; but that the Company could not continue the trade at Chusan with such unreasonable duties, and, without hopes of a speedy change in their favour, they must quit the port.

We then stipulated for a free trade, and not to have any dealings with the mandarins or their officers. The *Towya* assured us that only such persons as we made choice of should interfere in our business; that he would give orders to make things as little troublesome as possible; and that our wines and factory stores should pay no duties.

1758, *January 17.*—[The interval between this and the last date, August 24, nearly five months, seems to have passed smoothly, as the official extract from the *Diary* contains no entry either political or commercial.]

January 17.—All the mandarins from Chusan came on board this morning, and informed us that we must not attempt to come here next year; and said, if we did come, the *Tsongtuc* had given them positive orders not to receive us, and not even to represent above [i.e., to the superior Viceroy] the arrival of any ships at all.

This we think a very bold and extraordinary step in the *Tsongtuc*, but certainly decisive in putting an end to our trade here, as the Emperor would be ignorant of the arrival of any of our ships, and think we had dropped the trade of our own accord.

[January 20.—Sailed from Chusan.]

January 30.—Anchored off Macao. Messrs. Blount and Flint, supercargoes of the *Onslow*, wrote a letter to Messrs. Liell, Lockwood, and Revil, of the Company's Council for China, resident at Canton, to the following effect :

The *Onslow* is safely arrived at Macao, where we intend leaving Messrs. Flint and Bevan. We did not leave Limpo till the 7th instant [January, 1758], and did not sail from Chusan till the 20th. As the *Onslow's* route is the same with the homeward-bound ships from Canton, Supercargo Blount and Captain Hinde will be glad to keep them company. Inquire what time they will be despatched.

[Macao] 1758, February 11.—The *Hien* of Hienshan came down this morning, by order from the *Tsongtuc* of Canton, to inform us that the port of Limpo was absolutely shut to all foreigners, and that they must confine the trade to Canton. Therefore desired we would give a written obligation that we would not make any attempt to go there this year, which we refused ; upon which he gave us a copy of the order, and went up again.

February 16.—The *Quan Mun*, *Fore* of Causa Branco, arrived from Canton with the same *Chop* and request as the *Hien* on the 11th. Which we again refused to comply with ; upon which he desired, in case both of us would not sign it, that Mr. Flint only would give an obligation that he would not make any attempt to go to Limpo this year. We represented to him the unreasonableness of such a request, and that it was impossible for Mr. Flint to comply with it. The *Fore* then demanded under whose protection Mr. Flint put himself, whether under the Chinese or Portuguese ; we told him, the latter. He said then that we

must procure a certificate under the hand of the *Procuradore* that Mr. Flint had leave of the city to remain. Our answer was that he had the Governor's, which was all that was customary. He replied that that was not sufficient, and that Mr. Flint could not stay at Macao without a *Chop* either from the *Tsongtuc* or the city. In the evening the *Fore* went away, *after the city had given him an obligation in writing that they would neither send nor lend any vessel to go to Limpo.*

[The extracts from the *Joint Diary* of Messrs. Blount and Flint end with the preceding. The next is taken from a *Canton Diary*.]

August 7, 1758.—Messrs. Palmer, Burrow, and Wood, of Council for the Company at Canton, received a letter from Mr. Flint, dated Macao, August 3, to the following effect :—

As the affairs of the port of Limpo have turned out so contrary to the Company's expectations, Mr. Flint transmits for the perusal of the Council at Canton the *Onslow's Diary*, the *letter* for the supercargoes of the next ship sent out contingently for Limpo, and *what advices* Flint had received from correspondents at Limpo since he had been at Macao.

The second paragraph says :

"I think it can never be for the Company's interest to pay double duties and charges to what they do at Canton, as it was intended last year by order from the Emperor ; but as the ship was got to Limpo we were in a manner obliged to compromise it with the Custom-house rather than give up the port. But we were given to understand, upon our leaving Limpo, that we must not expect such a compromise again, and might expect to be turned away if we came. And our enemy, the *Tsongtuc*, did say, that if we will not give up the port by fair means he will make us by foul, for we should not be allowed any provisions, nor a man to come near the ship."

Flint then desires the opinion and orders of the Council at Canton as to how he shall act for the Company's interest.

Abstract memorial [by the Provincial Tribunal] sent to the Emperor in relation to the trade at Limpo in Tche

Kien. Dated on the 13th of the 12th moon in the 22nd year of Kien Long. [About September 8, 1757.]

"On the 8th of the 12th moon of the 22nd year of Kien Long we received the opinion of the Interior Tribunal in virtue of your Majesty's order on the 10th of the 11th moon, announcing that Yang-Ing-Kew, the *Tsongtuc* of Fokien and Tche Kien, in a memorial has demanded that a tariff should be settled for the custom and measurage paid by foreign vessels in the province of Tche Kien; demanding also that the other Interior Tribunal for managing the Customs should give its opinion upon this affair. The answer has been that the tribunal to which this affair properly belongs should deliberate thereon and give its opinion.

"If the first memorial be conformable to truth it is not necessary to come to any new deliberation. The Customs of Tche Kien have already been increased: it was not merely with an intent to raise the duties, but that the foreign merchants, not finding those advantages they expected, might determine of their own accord to return to Canton again. But this was not yet a positive prohibition, the merchandizes at Tche Kien are cheaper than those at Canton."

The memorial then states that it is more easy to secure the payment of the duties at Canton; that that province is narrow, and most of the inhabitants live by foreign commerce; and that the route to Limpo is hazardous; all which makes it more convenient to carry on the trade at Canton.

"This year [1757] another vessel is come to Limpo; it will be necessary to make severe prohibitions and to send her back again, which it is not difficult to do. It is also necessary to send orders to Yang-Ing-Kew (*Tsongtuc* of these provinces) to give proper notice to the foreign merchants; he was formerly the *Tsongtuc* of Canton, and same time had the inspection of the Customs. You all know [said he] that this transfer to a different Government makes no difference in the administration. But Tche Kien is not the province where heretofore foreign vessels traded; henceforward it is only permitted them to go to Canton; this order must be communicated to the *Tsongtuc* of that province, that he may inform foreign merchants that they are forbidden to return any more to Tche Kien; this will be advantageous to the people and Customs of Canton, and the province of Tche Kien will remain more quiet. If foreign vessels should come thither every year, not only the foreign *Hongin* (i.e. Mr. Flint and his consorts) leave a better port for a worse, but it will infallibly happen that the *Hong-brokers* will commit all sorts of knaveries. It is necessary to inquire if they build *Hongs* (factories) for foreigners, or erect churches, or any such improper things. In fine, to prevent all this, it is necessary to forbid the foreigners coming to Limpo.

"Let these orders be communicated to Ly-chi Kien that he may conform

thereto, and make it known to the foreign merchants of all nations that it is at Canton and Whampo where they must go, and that it is only by stress of weather that they come to Limpo; their commerce must be carried on at Canton and Whampo. There mandarins and soldiers are stationed to make the necessary examinations. If many foreign vessels should come to Tche Kien the inhabitants of the country will be exposed to many inconveniences. The orders of the Emperor are very clear and absolute, that the foreign trade must be carried on at Canton. The *Touya* of Limpo hath published these orders.

"Limpo is not the place where in times past foreign commerce was carried on, and therefore for a long time past the foreigners have been permitted to go only to Canton.

"The Chinese merchants go to Batavia and the ports adjacent, but are not permitted to go elsewhere; since then foreigners are permitted to trade in China, they must go the next year as usual to Canton, but if they persist in coming to Tche Kien, they will find new regulations; the measurage of their ships, their treasure, etc., all will be new regulated: on a comparison of the Customs of the East and West, [meaning Chusan and Canton] everything will be higher rated.

"For many years last past *Hongin* (Mr. Flint) has gone and come to Canton: he understands the Chinese language, and knows very well the measurage and duties of vessels to the westward. When I was *Tsongtuc* of Canton I saw him often: I have now ordered him not to come the ensuing year to Limpo. Thus henceforward it is permitted to foreign vessels to trade only to Canton.

"In the first year of the present emperor, *Hongin* (Mr. Reid), with Tchiopie, captain of an English vessel (meaning Rigby), came to Limpo; the mandarins of the place, not daring to let them stay, ordered them to go to Canton. If in future any foreign vessels should come to Tche Kien, it is necessary that the Mandarins of Letters and of War should act with conformity to what was done in the first year of the present emperor, and order them to go to Canton, as it appears the voyage from Tche Kien to Canton is not difficult, and the foreign merchant can thereby receive no damage.

"When I was at Limpo the foreign *Hongin* was ordered not to stay there longer than the 10th of the 11th moon, and then to go away. When I left Hang-Tchew, the *Touya* gave me information that Vou Lun (meaning Mr. Blount), first supercargo, was fallen sick, and that as soon as he was recovered they should return to their own country. There is not as yet any further advice, but all will be done for the best. In future it will be permitted that foreign ships go only to Canton to transact their business, and can come no more to Limpo.

"Thus I have conformed to the intentions of your Majesty, and have communicated these orders to the acting *Tsongtuc* of Canton and Quansi, to the intent that he may inform the foreigners thereof; and also I have communicated the same to all the Mandarins of Letters and Arms at Limpo and Tinghai. The foreigners who come to Limpo purchased their silks of the merchants at Hou-Tchu, and their teas of the merchants of Fokien.

"Having consulted with your vassal the Viceroy Yang, I have ordered all the mandarins strictly to examine, on the return of any ships, if they

have built any *Hongs* for foreign commerce, or erected any temples, or anything of the like bad nature.

"I present this memorial with respect, and to give the necessary advice, and at the same time to request the instructions of your Majesty.

Instructions by the Court to the Council for China, December 23, 1757.

Paragraphs 1 and 109.—The mode of conducting the Company's affairs in China by separate sets of Supercargoes for each ship having been found both disadvantageous and inconvenient, the Court united in one commission all the supercargoes sent out to China this year, to have authority over all the ships; and constituted them one Council. The rank which each would have held, if acting in sets for a separate ship were preserved; that is to say, there were four chiefs in the united Council, ranking as first, second, third and fourth chief; four seconds, and four thirds. The commission of £5 per cent. then allowed for managing the business of the season, was apportioned among the twelve, namely:—

				s.	d.
To the Senior Chief	...	...	...	11	8 per cent.
To the other three	...	...	...	10	0 " "
To each of the seconds	...	...	...	8	4 " "
To the first three of the thirds	...	...	...	6	8 " "
To the twelfth and last	...	...	...	5	0 " "

Paragraphs 1 and 130.—After the affairs of the season were transacted, five of the twelve supercargoes, namely, the junior chief and two from the second and third grades, were to remain at Canton to provide investments for the ships of next season.

Paragraphs 18, 19, 20.—The Court being informed of the success which their renewed efforts had obtained for two seasons at Limpo, and relying that the *Onflow* (which was to arrive there in 1757) will have been as well received, had resolved to pursue that trade as one sufficiently established; and now despatch the *Prince Henry* to that port, with a cargo value £31,655 9s. 9d. This ship was assigned to the General Council for China, but the manage-

ment of affairs at Limpo is committed especially to Messrs. Mandeville, Mackenzie, and Flint, as a branch of the United Commission. The two first go out on the ship, which is to call at Batavia for Mr. Flint, and then proceed direct for Limpo.

Paragraph 59.—After repeating the prohibition not to deliver up the rudder, or sails, nor such a quantity of guns or ammunition as would expose the ship to hazard, the Court cite from the *Diary* of the *Griffin* (in 1756), that the then *Tsongtuc* remained so far averse from the Company's trading at Limpo, that the *Griffin's* supercargoes were obliged to compromise the affair of the arms, as had been done the year before, by delivering up half. The Court trusted that this unreasonable prejudice might be overcome, "and the Company in this respect be put on the same footing as at Canton."

Paragraphs 64 and 127.—Citing a representation made by the supercargoes of the *Griffin*, that a residence at Limpo, while the ship remained at Chusan, had been found inconvenient, and that it was desirable to have the factory likewise at the latter place, provided the *Towya* could be induced to remove thither, or that the supercargoes could obtain the privilege of going up to Limpo whenever they pleased; the Court give to the supercargoes of the *Prince Henry* a guarded discretion to consider the matter, and act as shall be eligible.

Paragraphs 65, 67, and 116.—The danger and inconvenience of the Limpo ships having to call annually at Batavia for Mr. Flint is deemed so great, that the supercargoes are to apply to the Chinese Government for permission for him and Thomas Bevin (a youth previously sent to China to acquire a knowledge of the language and customs of the people) to remain constantly at Limpo or Chusan. Should this be conceded, it would be highly beneficial if they might be allowed to visit Nankin and the adjacent country to extend their knowledge of the trade in general, and especially in the article of silk. Messrs

Mandeville and Mackenzie were to return home on the *Prince Henry*.

Paragraphs 66 and 125.—Mr. Flint having engaged to provide some very large glasses for the Emperor, to be delivered at Limpo in the year 1759, in return for the valuable service which a Chinese gentleman promised to render—namely, to obtain him permission to remain in the country in the year 1758—the Court intimated that the glasses could not be “provided” of the size proposed, but the Emperor’s agents may be assured that the largest attainable shall be sent by the ships of next season.

Paragraph 128.—On the representation of supercargoes from Limpo, recently come home, that a handsome acknowledgment is merited by the gentleman who was *Towya* at Limpo in the years 1755 and 1756 for his good services in the Company’s affairs; the Court sent out a diamond ring, value one hundred guineas; which Mr. Flint is to deliver to the then *Towya* in the Company’s name.

List of investment for the *Prince Henry* at Limpo:—

The investments comprise China-ware, tea, and raw silk; but as the *Prince Henry* could not pursue her voyage to Limpo after the prohibition of the Emperor came to be known to her supercargoes, it were useless to extract the quantities.

Notice in extract of letter [from the Council for China at Canton] to the supercargoes destined for the Port of Limpo, dated February 15, 1759:—

The *Prince Henry* did not proceed to Limpo, from a certainty of being obliged to return to Canton should it have been attempted; and upon a supposition that her going there at an inauspicious time might prevent our again attempting that trade when the favourable circumstance of a new *Tsongtuc* being appointed there might bring it about.

Instructions by the Court to supercargoes taking passage from England on the *Edgecote* and *Chesterfield*, and already in China, dated January, 10, 1759, contain the following: .

Paragraphs 1 and 118.—The Court constitute the ten supercargoes named a joint Council for managing their affairs in China. The members are divided into three grades, with apportioned commission on the investments. The detail is omitted in this abstract, as more properly belonging to a narrative of the rise and progress of the trade to Canton.

Mr. James Flint, who had been employed several years at Limpo, to be fifth second in the Superior Council.

Paragraphs 19, 47, 48, 49, 52 and 58.—The Court had received information of the difficulties which the supercargoes of the *Onslow*, Messrs. Blount and Flint, unexpectedly met in the last voyage to Chusan from the superior Government at Limpo; followed by the announcement, on their departure, that the *Tsongtuc* would not admit another ship to have a cargo, should the Company send one.

Reflecting the intelligence—first, that this opposition owed its origin to the mandarins and merchants of Canton, who had a vivid interest in preventing European ships from going to any other part of China; and, secondly, that the recent appointment of the former *Tsongtuc* of Canton to the same office over the province which comprehends Limpo would extend this mandarin's power and influence, and give him a direct opportunity to exercise both in favouring the trade of Canton and defeating the Company's persevering efforts for admittance to Limpo and Chusan—the Court observe all these adverse circumstances had diminished the long-indulged hope of establishing a trade at Limpo. Nevertheless, adverting to the success which their supercargoes for two connected seasons (namely, 1755 and 1756) had obtained there in effecting investments, the Company will not be discouraged from renewing the enterprize of acquiring an authorized trade to that part of China so long as a distant hope remains that the existing obstructions may be overcome by application to the superior Government.

With this view, the Court conditionally consign to Limpo or Chusan two ships, namely, the *Edgcote*, with a cargo value £26,833 3s., and the *Chesterfield*, invoiced at £26,687 1s. 11d.; and appoint the following persons as a branch of the General Council, to conduct the Company's affairs at Limpo—namely, Thomas Fitzhugh, James Flint, and Benjamin Torin.

The Court urge both the Council at Canton and the supercargoes nominated for the undertaking to continue the trade to Limpo, if it be possible; provided equally good terms can be obtained as at Canton.

The glasses of uncommon dimensions which Mr. Flint had engaged to provide as a present to the Emperor, to reach His Majesty by the medium of a Chinese gentleman who had filled a high office, were now sent; and the Court entertained hopes that the supercargoes would find the acceptance of this present operate auspiciously on their application, so as to gain admission for one or both ships to trade at Limpo on advantageous terms.

Paragraphs 19, 20, and 21.—Messrs. Fitzhugh and Torin go out as passengers on the *Edgcote* and the *Chesterfield*, which are to touch at Batavia. If there joined by Mr. Flint, these three are to consult the latest advices from Limpo, and weighing the chances of success, at their discretion proceed direct thither, or order the vessels to Macao. If they do not meet Mr. Flint at Batavia, the ships are to touch at Macao; in which case the question of pursuing the voyage to Limpo was to be decided by the whole Council for China; who, as circumstances may dictate, are to send one or both ships on to that port, or relinquish the trade thither for the present.

The Council for China at Canton to the supercargoes [touching at Batavia] destined for the Port of Limpo wrote under date February 15, 1759.

We give you our latest intelligence from Limpo for your better government. That there is a prohibition laid against your going to that port, you must already know from the

accounts carried home by Mr. Blount. Since that time we have had certain information of the *Hong* built there being destroyed ; the *Hongist*, and every other person employed by the Company, ordered to quit the place ; and a positive mandate published enjoining the chief magistrates not to suffer, on any pretext, a European ship to stay at Chusan, nor even supply the crew with common necessities after so long a voyage, but oblige them forthwith to leave the port. This strict order has been given by the new *Tsongtuc* of that province, (who went from hence) undoubtedly at the instigation of the merchants of Canton. He is lately gone up to Court. Should he not return to the Viceroyalty of the province of Che-keang, there will be an opening to introduce the trade again. We therefore recommend that you stop at Macao, where you may receive every requisite intelligence from us, and whence Mr. Flint will accompany you, if there be the least probability of succeeding.

Notice of a letter not extant, occurring in extract of a letter from the Superior Council at Canton, dated December 29, 1759.

[About the beginning of August] Messrs. Lockwood, Francis Wood, and Flint [detached on a special affair to Macao] wrote the Secret Committee that they had purchased of Captain Wilson, of the *Pitt*, a small snow, which he had brought with him to lead through the unknown and intricate passage he came. The China supercargoes designed her for two purposes [namely, to convey Mr. Flint to Limpo ; and, if necessary, to the Port of Peking. *Diary next cited*].

Narrative in extracts from Canton diary and consultations. The Council for China, at Canton, wrote as follows in a letter to Mr. Francis Wood, at Macao :—

“ We (Messrs. Lockwood, Devisme, and Thomas) this day visited the *Tsongtuc* of Canton by his own appointment ; when he told us that he was extremely displeased at Mr. Flint's going to Limpo, and that he positively forbade his return to Canton.”

Note.—It appears from subsequent entries that Mr. Flint went alone in a snow from Macao for Limpo, as a precursor to the ships expected from England consigned to Chusan; and that, besides negotiating for the renewal of trade there, he had to effect the transmission to the Emperor's Court of a complaint on the part of the Company's factory at Canton, against the *Hoppo* of that place.

The Canton letter of August 12th proceeds to state, that the *Tsongtuc* declared to the Council for China that he had permitted Mr. Flint to stay at Macao only until the departure of the ships for Europe, expecting him to embark in one of them. "We urged, it had been impossible for us to send him away, he being obliged to follow the Company's orders, which were for his going to Limpo; and all we could do was to acquaint our honourable employers of the unexpected opposition, and wait their answer. This he said we might do, but insisted on Mr. Flint's not returning hither; that if he did, the Government of Canton would positively show their resentment to him. Notwithstanding we offered several arguments for his provisional stay, the *Tsongtuc* continued resolute in requiring that Mr. Flint should proceed for England this season.

"He said the two ships gone for Limpo must return hither, as the Emperor's orders must be complied with, and they will not be permitted to trade there."

Note.—Both parties in this conference speak as if the ships had proceeded direct from Batavia for Chusan; but ten days after this date they arrived off Macao, to have their conditional consignment to Limpo decided by the latest information.—*Letter to the Company, cited below.*

The Superior Council at Canton then communicate their own opinion to the supercargoes waiting and expected at Macao; as conclusive against sending on both ships: fearing that the obstacles to success cannot be surmounted, they consider one ship sufficient to make the trial; and they remind Mr. Wood that by the Company's contingent instructions if Messrs. Fitzhugh, Wood, and Torin deter-

mine to proceed for Chusan with one ship, the *Chesterfield* is that appointed.

The Council for China at Canton, to the Company, dated December, 29, 1759 :

THE "CHESTERFIELD'S" VOYAGE TO CHUSAN. *

"On August 22, 1759 the *Edgworth* and the *Chesterfield* arrived off Macao. *Messrs. Fitzhugh and Torin proceeded in the latter to Chusan ; where they waited until October 26th, in expectation of the snow from Tienting [in which was Mr. Flint] joining them. At length, finding nothing could persuade the mandarins to permit their contracting for a cargo at Limpo, the supercargoes departed thence ; and on November 6, 1759, the *Chesterfield* returned to Canton."

This was the final experiment ; and the Council for China conclude their notice of it with this observation : "We are much afraid nothing but an express order from the Emperor can open that port to Europeans."

MR. FLINT'S MISSION.

"[About the beginning of August, 1759] Mr. Flint proceeded in a snow to open a negotiation with the Viceregal Government of Limpo. On his arrival at Limpo he was told he must not stay there : nor should he even have common necessities ; and that no trade in future should ever be suffered to be carried on with Europeans at that port. He did with difficulty persuade them to receive our *Chop* (that of the Company's Council for China), representing the grievances which we then laboured under at Canton ; when he was forced away, even to return (had he gone to Canton as the mandarins of Chusan intended) against the Monsoon. Instead of returning, he however proceeded to Tienting, the Port of Pekin, distant about three days' journey from that city. Here, by some money properly placed, the petition in Chinese was so publicly shown, that it soon came to the Emperor's knowledge, and was carried to Court. The Emperor immediately ordered a Great Man, or *Tayjen*, to proceed for Canton ; Mr. Flint was ordered to join him upon the road, and attend him down by land. Meanwhile the Emperor sent an express to the *Chouicon* of Fokien, commanding him to come directly hither ; on his arrival to suspend the *Hoppe* of Canton (which was done) ; afterwards to wait until the deputed *Tayjen* from Pekin with Mr. Flint arrived ; and then these two magistrates, with the *Tsingtu* of this province, to sit in judgment on the said *Hoppe*, examining as well the native merchants, as Mr. Flint and several other European factors, in proof of the accusations.

* This letter contains besides a retrospect to occurrences long previous giving some of the dates, and leaving others to be collected from the correspondence then extant.

"Mr. Flint remained in the city, namely, Canton, ten days; at the expiration of which time he was examined, then was told our accusations were proved to be true, and same day came to our factory. Four days after this the *Taijens* received the Europeans of every nation: the French delivered a petition in Chinese; and each of the other nations one, in their own language, to the same purpose as ours. These great men repeated to us what they had before said to Mr. Flint; they told us the *Hoppo* was deposed, and another would soon be appointed from Court.

"The following impositions were immediately taken off, namely:"

"The 3 per cent. on all *sycee* money paid into the *Hoppo's* house for duties, which was laid on under pretence of making up the deficiency of the Canton weights compared with those of Pekin.

"The increase of duties from Fosham to this place.

"The charge of coming from or going to Macao, which had risen to above 50 dollars.

"The presents to the *Hoppo* houses on the ship's going away, and what was forced to be given by the linguist and compradores for liberty to attend us, and every other imposition, except the 1,950 and 6 per cent.; these go to the Emperor. We are of opinion these would be remitted, was it possible to get them properly represented, as the Emperor is disposed to favour us.

"We (the Council at Canton) are under great apprehensions that the vessel we sent up is lost. We have news that after Mr. Flint had landed from her she sailed from Tienting in August or September, but have since heard nothing of her.

"A short time after these favourable appearances, namely, on December 6, 1759, the *Tsongtuc* desired to see Mr. Flint, to let us know the Emperor's orders relating to our affairs. We (the Council for China) desired to go in to the city with him, which was permitted. On our reaching the *Tsongtuc's* palace, the Chinese merchants who acted as messengers and attendants proposed our going in one at a time: we told them, as Mr. Flint had been summoned on the Company's affairs, we must all be present. After some altercation we imagined it to be agreed that we should go in company. Upon hearing Mr. Flint called, we proceeded together: we were received by a mandarin at the first gate, and advanced through two courts, with seeming complaisance from the officers in waiting. On our coming to the gate of the inner court of the palace our swords were forced from us; we then were hurried on (even forced) into the *Tsongtuc's* presence, and there, in endeavouring to compel us to pay homage after their custom, they at last threw us down; when the *Tsongtuc*, seeing us resolute and determined not to submit to their base humiliations, ordered his people to desist. He then gave command for Mr. Flint to advance toward him; pointed to an edict, which he said was from the Emperor, for Mr. Flint's banishment to Macao for three years, and then to England, never more to come into this country: this, the *Tsongtuc* said, was to be inflicted on him for his going to Limpo when it was his Imperial Majesty's positive order that no ships should go thither. He further announced that the man who confessed to have written the petition in Chinese which Mr. Flint carried with him thither, and also delivered at Tienting, was to be beheaded this day for treacherously encouraging us to take this step. The *Tsongtuc*, notwithstanding,

told us that our complaint against the *Hoppo* was true; that the Emperor was pleased with it; and that the *Hoppo* was proved to be a very bad man.

"On December 9th, the French, Danes, Swedes, and Dutch met at the English factory, where we agreed,* one and all, to inform the Chinese merchants who were present that all these nations protested as one against the *Tsongtuc* for his behaviour to the English Council on the 6th instant; that we should acquaint our different Companies of his unwarrantable proceedings, in order that a mode might be devised to make it known to His Imperial Majesty, who we are convinced will avenge the affront put upon us, as he is disposed to favour us.

"We hear that Mr. Flint is in close confinement within a league of Macao; but the Chinese authorities will not permit letters to pass between us."

Instructions by the Court to the Council for China, December 7, 1759.

Paragraph 4 and 18.—Having received a letter from Mr. Flint, stating the causes which had impeded the trade at Limpo, and giving his opinion that on the present *Tsongtuc* going out of office (the appointment being for three years) all obstacles would be removed—the Court forbear to station any ship this season for Limpo, or to give any directions concerning the prosecution of the attempt, leaving that to the discretion of the Council at Canton; who may, if they see fit, consign one of the China ships to that port.

Letter from the Secret Committee to Messrs. Lockwood, Fitzhugh, Blount, Kinnersley, and Wood, at Canton. Dated March 5, 1760.

The advices from China received by the *Pitt*, which arrived at Kinsale on February 23rd, giving "reason to believe the trade to Limpo is again opened," the Secret Committee appraise the Council for China, that though no ship had been appointed for Chusan this season, yet the commanders of all the China ships were ordered to stop at Macao, "on purpose" that the Council at Canton may fix on any one or two if necessary, of such ships to be consigned to Limpo.

* This united action and unanimity of opinion are rendered more remarkable by the fact that the Seven Years' War was then at its height in Europe and also in India.

Letter from Mr. Flint, a prisoner near Macao, to Messrs. Lockwood, &c., Council at Canton, March 23, 1760.

"GENTLEMEN,—As it is now three months since our parting, I hope you have recovered from the fright of that day ; but for my part, I have not had one hour's rest with the thoughts of these fellows, and being shut up in four small rooms, with bars before the doors and windows so much like a cage, and locked up at nights, with the beating of four or five gongs and bamboos from seven at night until six in the morning, and two men sleeping in the room for fear I should make away with myself.

"The mandarin is very civil, gives me great comfort by encouraging a hope of my getting out by the latter end of the year. He made a representation in my favour to all the great men ; and the *Tsongtuc's* answer was very civil. A few days ago the Act of Grace for the benefit of prisoners came down, and a mandarin has made a general representation for me to take the benefit of it, as I am within the Act. As he has desired me to lend him eight hundred tael, I would have you give it him ; but it must be kept a secret, for if anybody should know of it he would be turned out of his place ; you may pay it to the bearer, he has been very good to me ; he does not understand any English ; you will get it ready for him, put up in small parcels, to take away as soon as he comes ; he will come the next day for it ; and you must send your China servant out of the way, that he may not see him."

The last paragraph states that Mr. Flint had sent a few days before, by a Chinese named Atchan, for 150 dollars to hire a cook, and buy his own provisions. Atchan made much difficulty of undertaking the message, and would have been confined twelve days in the guard-room for doing it, had not Mr. Flint interceded for him with the mandarin desiring the above specified loan.

Instructions by the Court to the Council for China, dated December 31, 1760.

Paragraph 21.—The orders of the Emperor of China prohibiting the Company from trading at Limpo were so positive, and altogether the difficulties in the way of re-opening trade at that port were so great, that the Court entertained "no hopes" of surmounting them. But being still unwilling to lose sight of "so desirable an object," they instructed the China Council to embrace any opportunity that might offer for that purpose, provided the attempt might be made without offence to the Chinese Government, and with reasonable expectations of success.

Paragraphs 23 and 25.—The manner of presenting the memorial to the Emperor for redress of grievances in the year 1759, coupled with the attempt then made to reopen the trade of Limpo contrary to the Emperor's positive orders, together with some other unlucky incidents, having excited the disgust and resentment of some of the great men, and particularly the *Tsongtuc* of Canton, the Court were so apprehensive of the consequences, that they determined to despatch the ship *Royal George* before the other ships, in order to convey instructions to the Company's supercargoes at Canton, relating to an intended negotiation with the Viceroy.

Paragraph 41.—Immediately upon the liberation of Mr. Flint he was to return to England by the first conveyance.

Instructions by the Court to Captain Nicholas Shottowe, commander of the ship *Royal George*, as agent to the Company "for a negotiation with the *Tsongtuc* of the provinces of Canton and Quangsi." Dated January 21, 1761.

These instructions are chiefly confined to the ceremonials to be observed, and refer to the Court's memorial to the *Tsongtuc*, to sundry documents, and to the information which the agent should receive from the supercargoes on his arrival, as the best means of possessing him with the situation of affairs, and of the objects to be attained ; briefly specifying the latter to be the conciliation of the great men, and a redress of grievances. For which purpose the powers of the agent were to be uncontrolled by the supercargoes.

Abstract as far as relates to Limpo of the Court's memorial to the *Tsongtuc* of Canton and Quangsi. Dated January 21, 1761.

After explaining that their vessel's having visited Limpo contrary to the Emperor's edict was owing to the supercargoes' believing the edict to be a fabrication of their enemies, the Company desire the *Tsongtuc's* good offices in procuring the liberation of Mr. Flint, who was punished with a severe imprisonment for obeying their orders, which they

never apprehended could disgust the Emperor or his ministers, promising that if deemed an improper person to remain in China, Mr. Flint should immediately quit the country.

Notices in Diary of the Council for China at Canton.

December 22, 1760.—Mr. Flint still continues in confinement. We have heard nothing from him for several months, though we are told he is well.

July 10, 1761.—Mr. Flint is still in confinement, without a possibility of getting any intelligence from him.

October 30, 1762.—The merchants came to acquaint us, that an order was come from Court for releasing Mr. Flint. That he would be brought to Wampoa on November 3rd, in order to be put on board one of our ships, as he will not be permitted to come to Canton, and that we must go down to receive him, and give a receipt for his person. A receipt being positively insisted on as necessary, and the Chinese merchants saying they should be brought into trouble if it was refused, the majority of the Council agreed to give one.

November 5, 1762.—Mr. Flint was carried to Wampoa by the Chinese, and put on board the *Horsendon*.

RETROSPECTIVE OBSERVATIONS.

It is important to notice that the letter of the *Chumpein* at Chusan to the English Company takes no notice of the title or office of *King's Consul*, borne by Mr. Catchpoole, while he desires, in a very marked manner, that all the English ships coming thither may be under the orders of the Company's President. On the one hand, there is abundant evidence that the English Company's three Presidents in India, bearing the same title of King's Consul—in Surat, on the coast, and in Bengal—made the latter office more prominent than the former, by an ostentatious display of the royal credentials, and a consequent claim of superior power. Here, on the contrary, all the documents belonging to the

period of *Consul and President Catchpoole's* three voyages to Chusan, are nearly silent respecting his assumption of the former title ; it is therefore inferred, either that the exercise of his authority as King's Consul was checked, or suppressed by the Chinese Governor, on the first publication of such a commission ; or that the Viceroy and officers of the province, apprehending that the Imperial Court at Peking would not allow them to tolerate the exercise of a power in China founded on a commission from a foreign king, evaded a recognition of it by contemptuous silence. Indeed, the only instances in which the diaries and letters from Chusan record that Mr. Catchpoole exerted, or rather claimed to exert, the authority of Consul, was over the captains of ships, in their relation as Company's servants, when the office and distinction of a President would have been quite sufficient and more congruous and not at all in any direct negotiation with the mandarins, and that this secluded and almost clandestine appeal to his superior power as Consul was rather pernicious than otherwise.

For the rest there is nothing to blame in the conduct of the servants of either Company who successively visited Chusan. They studiously refrained from giving the Chinese Government any just cause of offence. If they erred it was on the side of compliance. Thus Consul Catchpoole, thinking to purchase his stay, submitted to all the demands of the *Chumpein*, which exhibit a progressive system of extortion. And the supercargoes, in subsequent voyages, occasionally exceeded the Company's instructions in consenting to land half their ordnance, and to pay higher duties than at Canton, to avoid being sent from the port without a cargo. Lastly, it is to be observed, that the *Consul* never went to Canton, which was perhaps fortunate both for the English and United Companies.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

At a time when meetings are being held in many of the chief cities of India, and a number of memorials and petitions are being prepared and adopted for presentation to the Secretary of State for India, to extend the present limit of age for the admission of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service, and when most touching appeals are being made to the Government of this country and of England to lay the doors of that service open to the natives of India, and to place them on a footing of equality with the English civilians by letting them into all the higher appointments, I think it worth while suggesting a middle course, which will, I hope, be satisfactory to both the contending parties, and the adoption of which might, in my humble opinion, tend to soothe the ruffled spirit that pervades the country.

It is now more than ever necessary that any scheme or project which may have for its object the amelioration of the condition of the natives of India should not be lightly thrown aside, but should rather receive the closest attention that can be bestowed upon it. The question concerns not only the individual well-being of the natives of India, but also the interests of the Empire itself. For that Empire during a long time to come must continue to be a large employer of native energy and native intelligence, and the more easy and comfortable the condition of life which it may be able to offer to its employés, the more likely is it to be served both cheaply and faithfully.

It is satisfactory to observe that by means of a liberal English education, chiefly at the expense of the State, the people of India have been made tolerably familiar with the

aims and objects of the Government of England in India.

I must admit that there has been a great deal done of late years towards the promotion of the wishes and interests of the people of India, which clearly shows what is the principal object of British rule in India. One glorious instance of this noble policy should be sufficient—I mean the liberty of the press and the liberty of public speech. This privilege permits our educated men to speak and write with freedom about State policy and other matters, to an extent which is almost unheard-of in any other country of Europe or Asia. When these valuable privileges are denied to all other nations, is it not a matter for the natives to be deeply grateful for to their gracious and generous rulers?

I now come to the subject in hand. My proposal is to shut out the natives of India altogether—so far as their examination and admission in England is concerned—from the Covenanted Civil Service to which they are at present admitted, firstly, under a competitive examination held in England, and secondly, under an English Act of Parliament, which has empowered certain high officers of State to select a certain number of natives every year for admission into the service. I quite agree with all the momentous political reasons that are urged by those who oppose the wholesale and indiscriminate admission of natives to the service on a footing of equality as to rank, grade, status, emoluments, &c., with their British compeers.

Proclamations and State pledges are to be taken for what they are worth—more especially when these have been made at a time when the country was in a state of political ferment, or passing through a vast political transformation like that effected when the territories of British India, until then ruled by a despotic body of merchants, commonly known as the John Company Bahadoor, passed under the direct rule of the Crown. These pledges, I say, can never have been meant at the time to be carried out in letter and spirit according to the wish and desire of those

for whose benefit they were intended. They were a set of voluntary assurances on the part of the British Government to promote the interests of the people of India as far as lay in their power, and to govern all their subjects with justice and impartiality as far as the circumstances of each particular case would permit. Every man, every British Indian subject, must know that he is at the mercy of his rulers, that in India we have no constitutional Government like that of England—that here we have a kind of mild despotism, or imperialism, and that he should be thankful to his rulers for the smallest mercies that they are kind enough to offer him—and that he is not entitled as of right—though he may be every way qualified for it—to all the high and responsible appointments in the administration of the country. It ill becomes us, therefore, to make such proclamations and pledges a peg to hang all our grievances and arguments upon, and to ask for admission into the service on a footing of equality with the rulers of the country as a pure matter of right, and not a friendly concession.

It cannot but be obvious to the meanest understanding that for certain grave political reasons all the high offices of State should, as a matter of course, be reserved for the members of the ruling race. I am quite convinced that on political and prudential grounds, not only should the higher administrative appointments be reserved for the Englishmen, but that English agency is almost indispensable for the peace, well-being, and efficient administration of the country. Not that I doubt for one moment the qualification by ability, education, and integrity of the natives to hold and discharge, to the entire satisfaction of their rulers, the duties of these high offices of State, but I fear that the natives of this country seldom possess the self-reliance, firmness of character, and tact, so necessary in cases of emergency. I am firmly of opinion, on the other hand, that both on political and financial grounds native subordinate agency should have wider and more extended play in the

work of governing their country. But I think the Government are only sowing the seeds of future embarrassments and race-antagonism, in not boldly announcing the fact that European and native agency must necessarily be regarded as distinct and separate. The Government should not be indifferent to the just claims of the natives for admission into the service, so long as native agency occupies a subordinate rank in the work of administration. The question is, How far can the Government accede to the request of the natives to be admitted into the service—even its subordinate branches—without endangering the peace and safety of the Empire, and the welfare and good government of the masses?

If the Government were to give some tangible proof of the reality of their intention to carry out a policy of freely admitting the natives to the subordinate Civil Service, and lay down rules whereby a certain number of lower-grade appointments should be reserved for and given away to natives proportionately to the admission of English civilians to the higher appointments every year, a great deal of the present race-jealousy, excitement, and heart-burning would vanish, and the Government would be spared the bitter cry which is raised now and then that the "firmans of the Kaisar-i-Hind are like the firmans of the Sultan of Turkey in days gone by."

When England took India, hundreds of thousands of men were struggling for her possession. The Moguls wanted to possess her, the Maharathas fought and plundered their way close up to that result; and Pindarees, Rajpoots, Mysorians, were all struggling in a devil's dance of anarchy and plunder to obtain the prize. England, however, stepped in and saved India from them all. For nearly a century she has advanced in the pathway of civilization. Like the young ladies of the day, an attempt has been made to make her accomplished by means of every modern improvement. The policy of England in India is essentially one of internal development and

domestic progress. India has become the envy of all European nations ; one of them at least is supposed to be casting amorous glances at her. If England took her hand away from her to-day, she would to-morrow be lying dishevelled and distracted on the ground, with crowds of men fighting like demons for the possession of her crown.

It is, however, satisfactory to learn that, with a marvellous unanimity, the people of India have silently but eloquently signified their assent to the new mode of governing introduced by England. It cannot be too strongly impressed on every native chief in India that had it not been for the perfect security conferred by British protection, the native dynasties would have been not unfrequently displaced in consequence of mutual wars or popular disturbances. Since the advent of the English nation here as our rulers, peace and prosperity have been ensured, and law and justice administered equally to rich and poor. Every loyal native of India will do well to remember that, in conquering India, Englishmen have freed the toiling millions of this country from the bonds of slavery and the oppression of foreign tyrants, and that the misery attendant on lawlessness and general chaos has become a thing of the past under their rule and sway. We admit that the people of India must be educated to take an interest in the affairs of India, if this country is to be governed in such a way as to make it a contented and useful portion of the Empire. The British mission of civilizing and developing the natural resources of the country is as arduous as it is noble ; it is full of difficulties on account of the great distance between the Indian Empire and Great Britain, where the head Government is located, the variety of languages spoken by the different races that inhabit the country, the reserved and unsociable nature of John Bull in India, the spirit of Imperialism that pervades generally all classes of the Government officials, and many other reasons which increase the difficulties of governing the people with ease and freedom. It is much to be regretted that the

benign English rule is sometimes, through ignorance, talked lightly of in consequence of a little high-handedness of growing Imperialism, and some acts of indiscretion on the part of some members of the Civil Service that tend to widen the breach between the rulers and the ruled.* Caste prejudices, absence of social meetings and gatherings, and the want of common courtesy towards the natives by some Englishmen, are day by day becoming so prominent that an impartial observer inclines to the belief that there is something in the very atmosphere of the country which inclines even English gentlemen to approach in practice to what has been aptly termed "Oriental despotism."

Now what I propose, in the first place, is to abolish and do away altogether with the Statutory Civil Service as it exists at present. I am strongly opposed to the present system of admission to the service by the selection and patronage of one or more men in high office, rather than by the door of open competition. I am for a fair field and no favour. The only thing I wish to see is an end of this unseemly and everlasting quarrel between the natives and Englishmen for high or low appointments in the administration, and some permanent arrangement on a fair and impartial basis, which would remove the cause of all future complaints on both sides. The patronage system has opened a door to all sorts of jobbery and favouritism, and the result of it is a plentiful crop of abuses. The indiscriminate admission of candidates by patronage, favour, or influence in high quarters, is most disastrous to the service itself, and we are, therefore, of necessity thrown back upon the good old system of admission by competition, though in a somewhat modified form. I have had some personal experience of many of these thrice-happy mortals who have been able to secure comfortable berths in the service by patronage, but of whom all I can say is that they are out of place, and perhaps not quite fit for the posts they hold, and their proper places would have been at some school or college.

These men have proved, as a rule (though I know of

exceptions), inferior to their countrymen who have entered the service through the door of competition in England. One can find many a statutory civilian who is, either from ignorance or conceit, totally incapable of deciding between the length of two straws, and nevertheless these are the very men selected to govern the subject masses of a large province or district of the Empire. It was almost a foregone conclusion that the system, based on this short-sighted policy, would sooner or later collapse on account of its innate weakness or foolishness, and that it would be a source of dissatisfaction and trouble to the large and daily increasing class of our university men. I say, give everybody his due, and let the test be a competitive examination all round, both for natives and Englishmen. By these means we shall be able to have at our command any amount of good, sound, workable material for filling up the high and responsible offices of the service. Let merit, intellect, learning, and high education alone carry all before them in the service of the country. The Statutory Service as it is—a singular Indian stew of incongruous materials—has already been nick-named “The Curry and Rice Service,” and if this system of patronage were allowed to continue for many years longer, it might earn for itself a most unenviable notoriety. Of course, if the Government of India like to go into the highways and byways for men they can get them. When we remember that the weal and woe of this large Empire (which has of necessity to be administered by a mere handful of men) hangs upon the high tone and the *esprit de corps* of what was one of the best administrative services the world has ever seen, it is impossible not to feel anxious for the future of India. When men of poor intellect, or utter incapacity for the noble and highly responsible work of administration, enter the service, the finger of scorn is naturally pointed at them by all Englishmen and natives alike, and they become in the end the laughing-stock of their own body and of the world at large. Let the system of nomination by patronage be knocked on the

head, and let the entire body of the service be thoroughly overhauled. Nothing of real importance can be done unless this system is condemned as radically wrong and unsuitable, and a new and better one adopted, conceived on broad lines of State policy and the actual circumstances and political exigencies of the country.

I therefore propose that a separate and independent branch of the Covenanted Civil Service be organized and established in India solely for the natives, and that all the lower-grade appointments be reserved for them to the exclusion of Englishmen and Eurasians. I also suggest that the branch service shall be subordinate to the main service, and that no natives be allowed to compete with Englishmen at the Civil Service examination to be held in England.

An examination should be held in India for the natives simultaneously with the English one, or at different times, and the examiners should be appointed and sent out from England. I propose that at such local examinations, held annually for the natives in the Presidency towns of India, only those candidates shall be admitted who hold the degree of M.A. and LL.B. from one of the Indian universities, irrespective of their being already in the public service or not. The successful competitors at this examination should then be appointed to the service under the same rules and conditions as are now in force in regard to the statutory civilians, and the limit of age shall be extended to twenty-seven years. In the case of M.A.s and LL.B.s already in the service, this privilege may be safely extended, irrespective of the limit of age, as their official experience appears to be a good ground for extending such indulgence to them, over and above the fact of their degree being a sufficient warrant for their admission to the examinations. It is the soundest policy to encourage university men by giving M.A.s and LL.B.s opportunities for appearing at this examination. Besides the invaluable culture and training of the university, the special knowledge acquired by actual work in the service, the fresh studies which they may prosecute in

order to qualify for passing the examinations, will be a particularly valuable means for raising the standard of qualified candidates. Indeed, in whatever light I look at this proposal, I only find satisfactory reasons to favour the idea of admitting the higher grades of university graduates to the test of this examination. The number of appointments to be thus competed for, should be one-half of the number of appointments to the Civil Service. At the same time, Government should not only give a solemn assurance of their intention to carry out this policy, but should actually appoint a few of the picked and tried men of the subordinate native service (after serving in the line for seven or eight years) to a limited number of the best paid and superior offices. It is a weak and unwise policy to promise like a prince and pay like a miser: to admit the natives to the service on a footing of equality, leaving open to them all the appointments, high and low, and when responsible and high offices fall vacant to evade their promotion thereto by sophistry and specious arguments, and to shuffle out of an unpleasant obligation.

This subordinate native Civil Service project should, I think, be as thorough, just and generous, in its organization, as it can possibly be made, so as to leave no cause for the natives to be dissatisfied with it. The promptitude with which this new scheme may be organized and adopted, will render it all the more welcome to those in whose favour it is intended to operate. All the rules and regulations as to pay, pension, emoluments, &c., now applicable to the statutory civilians may be applied to the subordinate Civil Service as well. I also suggest that the successful candidates, immediately after passing their examination in India, be required, without exception, to make a short sojourn in England, say for two years, in order to finish their education, to learn men and manners, and to see something of the wide world beyond their own homes and country. By travel and residence in foreign countries, particularly in England—one of the prominent centres of the civilized world—a native of India neces-

sarily learns much that is of practical use to him in the affairs of every-day business life, and he has an opportunity to unlearn a great deal of his old Indian habits, manners, associations and ideas, by observation and actual intercourse with the highly polished, educated, and civilized society of Europe. Most of these habits and ideas have grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength, and may be rather hard to shake off; but everything rude, coarse, unrefined and uncouth in his nature, will be toned down and softened by having an insight into real English life and character, and by a good breath of the bracing, healthy, free air of England. This will help to make him a decent, presentable, civilized being, fit to associate and move in the highly cultured and polished circles of England or India. He will not then feel like a fish out of water in the society of Englishmen or women, and will boldly and freely mix with them on terms of friendliness and good fellowship, and will at least be able to command their respect and sympathy, if not affection and intimacy.

This will make the service a compact and united body, and its members will be a pillar of strength to the Empire of India. It is ingrained in human nature to return like for like, to return the coldness, reserve, and silent contempt of the Englishman with like treatment. It is the law of nature to retaliate, and this is the source of all evils and complaints between the native and English members of the service. I say that the brains of the natives are not alone to be cultivated and refined, but let their hearts be also as cultivated and refined. They want much of candour, sincerity, liberality of principle, large-heartedness, delicacy of feeling, gentleness, sympathy for the weak, the wronged, the oppressed, and honour for their own women, and respect for the weaker sex. They are wanting in many such noble qualities of heart, which are generally to be found in an average Englishman. During this compulsory sojourn in England, Government ought to adopt efficient measures for the young native civilians to be made acquainted, as far as

circumstances would permit, with everything that would help them in becoming polished gentlemen and men of the world, and also in increasing their necessarily limited stock of observation and experience and common information on all subjects of importance. Let the natives know and actually feel that their services are valued and courted by the Government, and they will serve their rulers with greater loyalty, efficiency, zeal and honesty, just in the same way as the mother loves her child, and the child returns her affection with double the interest.

There cannot be a doubt about the necessity of extending the limit of age for the native. An Indian youth has not all the advantages from his childhood in point of training and education that an English boy has. To begin with, a native must have a thorough knowledge of English before he can get through his Civil Service examination. Now, this in itself is a work of at least ten years. Greek and Latin are taught as a matter of course to all the English boys at all the public schools of England, and thus there is a solid foundation laid for the boys' future education, whereas it would be a Herculean task for the native boy to master these difficult languages at such a tender age. The physical strength and muscularity, the vigorous school and home discipline, the smooth easy life (without cares, troubles, anxieties, and privations) of most of the stout, healthy English lads, all facilitate the course of studies and their mental development and enlightenment. Few such advantages has the poor native lad, born, perhaps, of humble parents, who toil their lives away, and whose son has to fight hard from his boyhood against all sorts of difficulties and drawbacks, which cripple and enervate his intellect and abilities, of however high order they may be, and knock half his life, vigour, and energy out of him. It is owing to such causes that some English writers charge the native educated youth with effeminacy, conceit, weak-mindedness, want of firmness and decision of character, and a thousand other things.

Now last, but not least, is the point I have suggested of holding examinations in India. Government is deprived of the services of many bright and talented Indian youths who are "wasting their sweetness on the desert air" simply because they have no means to study in England for a number of years, depending on the bare chance or possibility of being able to pass the Civil Service examination. There are hundreds of other difficulties in their way which an Englishman could never dream of, much less understand; one of which is the inborn aversion of ages to leave their home and country and go beyond the seas. This is so in the case of Hindoos only, but still they are the most numerous race out of the two or three principal nationalities of India. Looking to all the circumstances of the people of the country, their modes of thought, their traditions, and their mode of life, this privilege of local examination should, I think, in fairness be granted to them.

A word more and I have done. No end of modifications of the existing rules and principles of the service have been suggested by public writers and speakers of the day (particularly the editor of the very ably-written paper, *The Indian Spectator*), both in India and England, and the outcome of this huge discussion has been the glorious Statutory Civil Service. I now earnestly hope that some practical shape may be given to some of the many reasonable suggestions that are being made on all sides in India, so as to set at rest, once for all, this burning question of the day between the natives and English for their real or supposed rights, and that this furious controversy between the ruling and subject races may be put a stop to at once in some way which will meet the dearest wishes and aspirations of them all in as full and complete a manner as may be practicable. We have now waited and waited too long and patiently to see the end of this wordy warfare on this unpleasant and exciting subject, and no good prophet has yet risen to soothe the troubled waters of the ocean of this bitter discussion. "The sooner they all leave off their damnable

faces," as Hamlet says, and introduce a practical subordinate Civil Service into the country, the better the public will like it. It is a pity that suggestions and hints coming from able and well-informed persons on such matters, whose independent opinion ought to be respected, are often put down as the "chatter of irresponsible frivolity."

Before I conclude this, I must frankly say that the benign British Government has given peace and prosperity to the teeming millions, and if to confer shelter and spread peace and ease over the country of India, to give permanence to such a happy millennium, and to have sympathy with, and work out, the welfare of the people, be noble aims, then the comforts and blessings which we enjoy under the English Raj prove beyond a doubt that they have succeeded in those aims. We have not words sufficient to express our love and gratitude for the heart-felt contentment we enjoy under our kind and paternal Government. Happy, most happy, are the nations on whom the sun of the justice and rule of the British Government shines.

It is the earnest and sincere prayer of every loyal native of India that the Almighty God may ever make the sun of British prosperity shine over us, its loyal subjects.

NUSSI KWANJLE SHERIARJEE GINWALLA.

BROACH.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

PUBLIC attention is at the present moment absorbed in one subject—the celebration of the Jubilee. In this auspicious and historical event Asia participates as well as England. Many of the most remarkable passages of the reign of Queen Victoria relate to Eastern lands, and both in India and in China the most important incidents of our whole intercourse with those countries have occurred since 1837. It is unnecessary for us to dwell here on the circumstances which brought India under the direct authority of the Queen, and which added the new title of Empress of India to the style of the Sovereign of this realm, for in another part of the Review it has received adequate treatment at the hands of a distinguished authority. But India has not alone been the scene of important changes during the present reign. In China events almost as important have taken place within the last half-century. Two wars and two treaties completely changed the character of our position in that country, and the long peace which has happily prevailed during the latter part of this period has brought about a good understanding and cordial alliance between the two States which we may hope will redound to their mutual advantage in the coming struggles of the Asiatic Continent.

The celebration of the Jubilee finds the Queen's Government entrusted with many fresh responsibilities, with the protection of a much extended Empire and of a vastly increased commerce, over those that devolved

upon it fifty years ago. But it is a high privilege to be able to say with a full appreciation of the embarrassment sometimes caused the executive by the acrimony of party strife, and admitting the doubts which all old people and nations entertain as to the value of what they possess, that, notwithstanding these elements of weakness, the country still possesses the resources and the courage to uphold its dominion in every quarter of the world. When the reflective mind looks back on the brilliant roll of Queen Victoria's reign the demand seems reasonable that at least in the year of her Jubilee it is inappropriate to suggest a curtailment of our responsibilities and the other contractions dictated by a craven policy. The reign which saw English supremacy established in the Punjab and beyond the Indus, and which witnessed its re-establishment in face of the most formidable military and civil revolt recorded in Eastern annals, and which also beheld English troops triumphant over Russia, victorious in China, in Persia, in Afghanistan, does not sound like the period in which we should admit our inferiority as a fighting Power, or when we should adopt a policy embodying the repudiation of all our old pledges and duties.

The country has to act up to the greatness of the Empire. We have to shape our policy by considerations of what is right and wise. We have, above all, to do what we ought to do rather than to hesitate while we think whether we can do it. We must also remember that we have observant and intelligent critics of the manner in which we discharge these duties. All parts of the Empire are represented in its capital for the Jubilee celebration. Our visitors have come here for the express purpose of getting a closer view of the nation which has spread its arms over every sea and both hemispheres. With regard to its wealth and civilization there need be no doubt about the verdict. Our Indian guests are shrewd enough to see at a glance that in both of these essentials we have reached the summit of power and reputation. But some-

thing more is needed to make a nation safe, and still more to preserve that elaborate fabric of Eastern empire which it ought to be our proudest boast to have erected. We have to convince our dependents and our allies that we have the will as well as the power to make good all our pretensions and to ensure the safety of those who are subject to our sway.

Considerations such as these lend additional interest and significance to the presence in London of Maharaja Holkar, the ruler of the Indore state, and the other Indian princes, who have crossed the ocean to testify their loyalty in their own persons. Their journey is also admittedly an experiment. They have resolutely overcome their natural prejudices, and they are here in spite of heavy social and ceremonial discomfort. It would require the gift of prophecy to say whether on their return they will come to the conclusion that their reception here, and their new experiences, have compensated them for what they have undergone. Let us hope that it will be so, for it is distinctly to our advantage that the experiment involved in the princes' visit should succeed. But this is a question of hopeful anticipation rather than absolute certainty. Sympathy may be alienated by trifles as well as by grave political shortcomings. It is to the interest of both the Indian princes and ourselves that no contretemps should occur, that they should see the best side of English life and English character, and that they should go back to India with the knowledge that the real strength of the Anglo-Indian administration lies in its drawing its resources from the inexhaustible supply of an energetic, vigorous, and courageous people. On the other hand, it is to our advantage to recognize that princes like Maharaja Holkar have their useful place in the organization of Indian rule, and that to bring them into closer sympathy with ourselves, and to combine their resources with our own, would be a high feat of statecraft. The success of any such policy can hardly be very great unless we utilize the little interval now left to

us before the external danger becomes very pressing. We hope that Maharaja Holkar, who is the first of the great ruling princes to come to our shores, has set an example which the other chiefs, and particularly the Nizam, will follow at no distant date. Maharaja Holkar is a young man, but he has begun his rule well, and he will live to see many stirring events in India and beyond its frontier. In connection with these he may play a prominent and an honourable part. English rule in India rests on English strength and tenacity alone, but our allies may claim their share in the honour of the struggle. Moreover, no English Government ever refused to well-proved allies and supporters the full recompense of their co-operation and good faith.

Again has the quarter closed rather on a state of preparation and expectancy than on one of accomplished fact and actual progression in regard to events in Afghanistan and Central Asia. The resumed negotiations at St. Petersburg are at a standstill, but it is well known that the hitch is not of as serious a character as has been supposed, and that Sir West Ridgeway is likely to return to the Russian capital and to bring the matter to a termination. Of course we are only speaking of the formalities which will bring to a close the Afghan Delimitation question commenced nearly three years ago, and not of any real and substantial agreement between England and Russia to respect their different spheres of influence. Such an agreement we regard as impossible and Utopian. The utmost we can hope for is that by concessions elsewhere and suggestions of compromise, Russia will be brought to assent to the Ameer's retention of Kham-i-Ab, and to the peaceful ending of the much vexed frontier negotiation.

We cannot refrain from pointing out one danger that may arise from any excessive complacency on our part. It is said, with every air of authority and credibility, that the price of the Ameer's retention of Kham-i-Ab is to be the surrender of Meruchak. Now it must be recollected that Meruchak is

a place which the Ameer himself regards as of the greatest importance. When the Penjdeh incident was at its height we were told that the Ameer attached less importance to it because he retained Meruchak, and now we seem to think that he will be content to lose both in order to preserve a place which is not less in his possession than Jellalabad or Ferrah. An account has appeared in the Indian papers from an Englishman resident in Afghanistan, stating that the Ameer already repents the surrender of Penjdeh, as well he may, and if this is anything like a truthful expression of his feelings, how are we to expect him to be gratified when we inform him that he must withdraw from Meruchak also? The danger of the hour is that in our anxiety to attain a nominal agreement with Russia, we may alienate the sympathies of the Ameer and destroy his belief in our policy. A great deal has been said about the Ameer knowing his interests best, and when he said at Rawul Pindi that he did not care much about Penjdeh, we preferred to endorse rather than to correct his ignorance. He appears to have since corrected it for himself, and his regrets with regard to Penjdeh are the strongest possible argument against any reckless cession of Meruchak. In our anxiety to keep up pleasant shams with Russia, we are in danger of sacrificing tangible advantages in Afghanistan.

We have to consider also the so-called Ghilzai rebellion, although we know that only one or two of the clans of that great tribe, which has, however, been subordinate to the Duranis for one hundred and fifty years, are implicated in it. Our Government must be culpably misled unless we know a great deal more about this insurrection than Russia does. The official view throughout the winter and spring has never wavered in the conviction that the Ameer was certain to gain the upper hand of his adversaries. These anticipations have still to be verified by events, and the lapse of time without any decisive action taking place has necessarily thrown doubt on what seemed the common sense and more probable view of the situation. Even still the chances of

victory are in Abdurrahman's favour, and the first marked success he gains in the field will be the signal for both the disbandment of his enemies and the acceleration of the negotiations at St. Petersburg. Notwithstanding the doubts bred of delay, there are still valid reasons to believe that this success will be obtained.

Russia's movements, although still concealed and undeveloped, point to the conclusion that she meditates at an early date taking a forward step in the direction of Herat, and the indications of the hour also favour the supposition that it will be done rather by the instrumentality of some claimant to the Herat government than by a direct attack. The general opinion was that this claimant could only be Ayooob, but it is now clear that Russia is going to keep this important rival to the Ameer in reserve for a future contingency, and that she is now content to utilize such services as a much humbler personage, Iskander Khan, can render. Iskander Khan has been appointed Governor of Penjdeh, and his presence so near the Afghan frontier is intended to revive the recollection of the Afghans concerning the son of the Sultan Jan, who ruled Herat from 1857 to 1863. Iskander Khan, whose mother was a daughter of Dost Mahomed, making him, therefore, according to our ideas, the Ameer's cousin, resided for some time in England after his quarrel with the Russian Government; but he has long been alienated from us, and recently, through the instrumentality of M. de Nelidoff, the Czar's representative at Constantinople, he became reconciled to the St. Petersburg authorities. We shall hear more of Iskander before the Afghan drama reaches its most exciting scenes.

The news of the mutiny of a portion of the garrison of Herat lends confirmation to the opinion as to the purposes to which it is intended to turn such men as Iskander Khan. There is no necessity to go so far as to declare that he has been the means of instigating the present rising, although such may have been the case; but it is obvious that, when

popular dissatisfaction among the Heratis is added to an insubordinate spirit in the ranks of the garrison, the moment will have arrived for employing the man who has pretensions to be their ruler. The intelligence from Herat has one satisfactory aspect. If the garrison contains some unfriendly elements, there is still a section disposed to stand true in its allegiance to Abdurrahman, and this fact, added to the greatly improved state of the defences of Herat, may ensure the stability of his rule in the Western province. At all events, it will not crumble away without making a semblance of resistance, and as there is no immediate risk of Russia attacking Herat by open force, the loyal garrison may succeed in retaining this important place for as long as there is a united Afghanistan and a single ruler in that state. There is one piece of information brought back by the officers of the late Frontier Commission on which too much stress can hardly be laid, and that is the non-fighting character of the tribes in the Heri Rud valley. The Char Aimaks are no longer a warrior race, if they ever were one, and Russia will not find in their districts the valuable recruiting ground which used to be generally supposed. The Afghan garrison represents a much more formidable fighting force than anything that can be brought against it short of a Russian army. It will be unfortunate if we fail to adequately utilize the splendid military material supplied by the tribes of Eastern Afghanistan in checking and driving back the Russian invader when he makes his effort. Our only chance of being able to employ these tribes lies through the mediation of an Ameer; and if, as is alleged, Abdurrahman has undone by excessive cruelty all he had accomplished by exceptional vigour, we, not less than he himself, have cause for regret.

With regard to events in China we have nothing to say. The young Emperor has assumed the functions of supreme authority, but the audience question is still unsettled. Nothing has been done with regard to either the

Burmah frontier, the Tibet mission, or the Kashgar Consulate. The Marquis Tseng is increasing his naturally great influence, and promises to play in the future a not less important part than Li Hung Chang did in the past. Railways and telegraphs are to be constructed, but in all cases by China herself. The strategic railway to Monkden shows how alive the mandarins are to their present position and future peril. We may look forward to China showing under her new auspices increasing self-reliance and impatience of external control. This is the tendency of the hour, but there are no new facts to record.

One of the most interesting events of the quarter has been the offer by the Council of Regency of Gwalior of three and a half millions sterling to the Government of India. An example has thus been set of utilizing the surplus and concealed wealth of India for the benefit both of the native States and the Government, which no doubt will be followed by other of the wealthy princes. Many sensational stories have been told of the discovery of this treasure, but they have no foundation in fact. The Maharaja Scindia was known to have largely saved, and the accumulations at his death were smaller, and not larger than had been anticipated. Immediately on his death, in June, 1886, the charge of the State Treasuries were made over to the Resident at Gwalior and certain members of the council, and the counting of the treasury was at once commenced, and has only lately been completed; the amount being stated as approaching seven millions sterling. Half of this sum the Agent to the Governor-General was able to persuade the Council of Regency to invest with the Government of India for the benefit of the Gwalior State at 4 per cent. interest, which will give a return of £120,000 per annum instead of remaining absolutely buried in the earth.

Sir Gunpat Rao, President of the Council of Regency, a man of great intelligence and capability, cordially seconded the efforts of the British agency, and the strong

opposition which exists in native States to investing money in Government securities, was successfully overcome. The step in advance is one of great importance, and it may be that it may find many imitators.

"As we referred in our last number to the continued silence of Mr. Carey, it is necessary that we should record his safe return to India together with Mr. Dalgleish, the well-known Yarkand trader. He seems to have thoroughly explored the region between Khoten and Lob Nor, and at the former place he came across General Prjevalsky, who, for reasons best known to himself, avoided the English traveller, and hastily departed from Khoten during the night of, or in the early morning after, Mr. Carey's arrival. The Russian traveller was accompanied by a strong party of Cossacks, whereas the Englishmen travelled unescorted. Further details of Mr. Carey's journey will be expected with no inconsiderable degree of interest. While talking of travellers in Central Asia, we may note the news of the arrival in Chintral of three European travellers, who have since been identified as the Frenchmen, Bonvalot, Capus, and Pepin, the two former of whom are well known for their tour in Bokhara and Khiva. They were, when found, in great distress, and almost starving, and they are alleged to owe their escape from a miserable death to the timely aid of the Indian Government. We may assume that their fate will be quoted as proof positive of the impracticability of the Hindoo Koosh passes for an army through the dearth of provisions. We must not lull ourselves into a false security in this quarter, and it may be noted that the annual Russian mission to the Pamir has already reached the scene of its inquiries.

Among administrative changes we should note, in conclusion, that the Tashkent school have carried the day against that of Tiflis, and that the Transcaspian district has been added to Turkestan instead of to the Caucasus. The military department has already been removed to Samarcand, and we may look for the proclamation of that city as

the capital of Russian Central Asia at an early date. The occupation of Kerki, ostensibly for securing the flank of the railway to Samarcand, is really directed at closing Bokhara to the intrigues of Katti Torah, the legitimate Ameer of Bokhara. It seems probable that it will be followed by the construction of a line of railway along the left bank of the Oxus, from Charjui to Kerki, and rumour declares that twenty miles of this line are already laid down.

REVIEWS.

Sir Richard Temple's Journals.

THE appearance of these two handsome and interesting volumes ["Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal," by Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., M.P., &c. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.)] suggests the reflection how few Anglo-Indians have taken the trouble to keep a journal, although the conditions of their service might be thought eminently suitable for such a practice. Sir Richard Temple has been one of the few exceptions to the rule, and in these volumes we have the contents of his private diaries at Hyderabad in 1867-8, in Cashmere in 1859 and again in 1871, in Nepaul in 1876, and in Sikkim in 1875. The interest necessarily varies with the importance or unimportance of the subject, and of course the journals relating to political events in the capital of the Deccán will claim more notice and attention than those describing the scenery of the Himalayas. At the same time it should be admitted that the latter reveal a keen eye for the picturesque, and an aptness in describing the charms of nature which it might be wished that more travellers possessed than is the case. Nor should the fact be ignored that Sir Richard Temple enjoyed special facilities for seeing all the sights of Cashmere and Nepaul, and that the rulers of those states placed at his service some of their most competent officials to act as his guides. Unquestionably the importance of this portion of the narrative is enhanced by the admirable introductions supplied to each section by Captain Richard C. Temple, who has inherited his father's literary capacity.

The volumes take their place in permanent Anglo-Indian literature for the "private diary of Politics at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad from April 7, 1867, to January 3, 1868." The earlier date was that on which the author entered the Nizam's territory on his way to take up the post of Resident at Hyderabad in succession to Sir George Yule, and the later that on which Sir Richard left the capital of the Deccan to assume the duties of Foreign Secretary at Calcutta. The most significant passages in the diary are, of course, those relating to the deceased minister, Sir Salar Jung, but there is much of interest about the leading nobles of the Nizam's court, and the late Nizam himself. Such questions as the unsanitary condition of the town of Hyderabad are not neglected, and the multifarious duties of an active Resident are depicted in these daily entries of perhaps the most active Anglo-Indian of our time. The impression left by this portion of the diary is on the whole favourable to the memory of Sir Salar Jung, and without being unduly laudatory, Sir Richard bears testimony to the excellence of his conduct and the thoroughness of his work. The value of the testimony is enhanced by its having been proffered at the time. The coloured engravings and chromo-lithographs are excellent, and the volumes contain some useful maps.

Ancient, Egypt.

ONLY a few of the volumes of that most excellent series (published by T. Fisher Unwin) bearing the catching title of "The Story of the Nations" can come within our purview, but the most captious will not complain at our including within our sphere the land of the Pharaohs, which belongs more truly to Asia than Russia does to Europe. The subject of Ancient Egypt could not have been entrusted to more competent hands than the author of "The Five Great Monarchies," &c., and Professor Raw-

linson's name on the title-page is guarantee sufficient of both historical accuracy and pleasant reading. The story begins with the mythical Menes, and ends with the consolidation of the Persian Conquest in the 4th century before our era. From the commencement to the end it is full of wonders, religious, literary, and scientific, as well as political, which go to make up what the author calls the "extraordinarily precocious greatness" of Egypt. The story of Egypt is told in a series of monographs relating to the successive dynasties and kings who held possession of the Nile Valley. We have brilliant descriptions of the shepherd and the priest kings, of the Ramesside and Saitic dynasties; and perhaps the chapter on Queen Hatasu, who reigned conjointly with the second and third Thothmes, is the most interesting of an interesting volume. The several Persian invasions, beginning with that of Cyrus, and ending in the reduction of the whole kingdom, form the subject of the last chapter of a volume which appeals strongly to the historical student as well as the general reader.

Short Essays on China.

MR. FREDERIC H. BALFOUR has collected from his scrap-book, kept by him as a Chinese resident and scholar, certain short essays on subjects of historical or general interest in connection with the Middle Kingdom, and these have been allowed a place in Trübner's Oriental Series. The volume, which is the latest issued of that most admirable collection of Eastern knowledge, bears the title of "Leaves from my Chinese Scrap-book," and its external appearance is not calculated to deter the reader from making closer inspection. Its contents are essentially light and amusing rather than heavy and full of facts. In the sketch of the Empress Regent, for instance, we are shown rather the light foibles and human weaknesses of a female ruler than the strong will and masculine character which have

enabled her to retain autocratic power during a stormy period, and in spite of many keen and uncompromising rivals. The rest of the contents are varied as well as instructive. Historical subjects are dealt with in chapters bearing such titles as "The First Emperor of China" and "The Fifth Prince." The latter personage is the uncle of the present Emperor, and is generally known by this numerical designation, or more formally as the Prince of Tun. He seems to be the humourist of the Imperial family, and some of the escapades related of him are extremely funny. Out of the twenty chapters of which the volume consists, some new ideas are likely to be gleaned about China and her people.

The Anglo-Indian Codes.

THE first volume of the great work on which Mr. Whitley Stokes has been for the last few years engaged has now been published by the Clarendon Press. ["The Anglo-Indian Codes," edited by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., Vol. I., "Substantive Law." (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)] As we hope to publish in our next number an article dealing with the subject-matter of this volume, from the pen of a competent authority, we shall confine our present notice to one or two extracts from the General Introduction. The work is to contain the principal codes of law enacted by the Governor-General in Council during the last twenty-six years, and will be divided into two volumes, one dealing with Substantive Law and the other with Adjective Law. The former is now published. The work ought to be useful, as the author says, "not only to the judges, legal practitioners, and law students, for whom it is primarily intended, but also to bankers, traders, public servants, and future legislators," and many others. Mr. Stokes also gives a history of the codification of Indian law, and finally the value of his work is enhanced by an admirable and elaborate index.

Hyderabad Affairs.

WE have received from Mr. Dinshah Ardeshir Taleyarkhan a pamphlet entitled, "The Jubilee Dawn in Nizam Hyderabad, 1887," describing and discussing recent affairs at the capital of the Nizam's territory. Events have moved rapidly in this quarter of India since it was written, but if some of the writer's suggestions are already out of date, we may bear witness to the fact that the tone in which his essay is written is excellent throughout.

* "Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.

ED. A. Q. R.

INDIAN PRINCES AT COURT.

THIS year has been remarkable for the large number of Indian ruling princes and noblemen who have visited England to attend the Queen's Jubilee, and to seek pleasure, health, or instruction. Never before have so many representative natives of Hindostan been together in this country, and never before have chiefs of such high rank and political importance come to Europe at all. The example which has been now set will, we may conclude, be largely followed, and year by year a larger number of Indians, of all conditions, will overcome the prejudices which still hinder or forbid foreign travel, and will rush to taste the delights of a residence in London and Paris and accept the splendid hospitality which Englishmen at home are so ready to extend to their Indian fellow subjects. It is understood that the Nizam of Hyderabad had intended coming to England for the Jubilee, but the confusion of local politics made it expedient to postpone his departure until a competent minister should have taken charge of the administration. He will probably carry out his project next year. It may be noted that it is only eleven years since the present Nizam attended the Imperial assemblage at Delhi; the first occasion on which a

Hyderabad ruler had left his territories to pay homage to an English Viceroy ; and the idea of a visit to Europe would have been an impossible one to his predecessors, into whose presence, not many years ago, the British Resident and his staff were accustomed to enter without their boots.

If, then, the time will probably arrive that a tour in Europe will become as fashionable for Indian gentlemen as it was formerly obligatory on Englishmen of wealth and family ; and if this time be succeeded—when increased facilities of travelling are devised—by a descent of Indian tourists upon England, much as Switzerland and Italy are now invaded by a crowd of English sightseers, it will be well to inquire whether the duties of official and conventional hospitality have during the past summer been duly and reasonably observed, or whether any lessons for the future can be learned from the failures of the past.

Considerable criticism has been directed to the subject of the treatment of our illustrious visitors by the authorities at the India Office and the Court of St. James', and it has been roundly and frequently asserted that the arrangements made were inadequate and wanting both in courtesy and dignity, while chiefs, who had undergone much trouble and expense in order to have the honour of paying their respects to the Queen, were allowed to depart with a feeling of slight and neglect. If it were true that ignorance or carelessness or stupidity had allowed these interesting visits to leave behind only bitter memories in the minds of those to whom the English people desired to show honour, it might perhaps be well to be silent on the matter, and allow the faults or mistakes committed to be forgotten as speedily as possible. But the truth is that, with a few exceptions, the arrangements made were satisfactory to the Indian chiefs, who left England thoroughly impressed with the anxious desire of the Queen, the Government, and the people of England to treat them with all kindness and honour. The mistakes, if fairly acknowledged, can be corrected in the future, and they were intrinsically unim-

portant when compared with the warmth of the reception accorded; while many of the asserted grievances were unknown and unheeded by the supposed subjects of them, and only created by the sympathetic imagination of newspaper correspondents, ignorant of the ways of thinking of Indian people. I have some personal acquaintance with all the chiefs who have been in England this season, and I am convinced that their feeling of gratitude for the kindness shown them is extreme, while they have thoroughly enjoyed their visit to England. The majority of them were too sensible to feel aggrieved, as we hear in an imaginative record of a conversation held by a newspaper reporter at Bombay with Maharaja Holkar, because they were only allowed two horses instead of four in the Jubilee procession, or because they were set down at one door of Buckingham Palace instead of another.

At the same time, I do not think that the manner in which the Court officials dealt with the question of the public treatment on historical occasions of the Indian princes was politic or wise. It may be true that the latter had no grievance in being allowed only two horses to their carriages in the procession; but no one can doubt that the restriction was impolitic. On this august occasion it should have been the first aim of the authorities to impart to the rejoicing an imperial character, rather than a domestic or local one. The greatest prominence should have been given to the illustrious feudatories of the Crown, who, in person or by delegates, represented the vast Indian Empire, and whose homage was the more welcome that it was voluntary and sincere. They should have been conveyed to Westminster Abbey in royal carriages with four horses, and with every outward mark of honour. To compel them to use hired carriages, with only a pair of horses, was a blunder, showing that the importance of the event was not appreciated by the Court, and gave outsiders the erroneous impression that there was some jealousy of the effect that the Indians might create, and some fear that their true importance, as

compared with the smaller royalties of Europe, might be discerned by the public, as indeed it was. Although the Court officials depreciated that part of the show which they should have magnified, its true significance was visible to foreigners and to the assembled public. Perhaps the most distinguished of our German visitors remarked to me that the Indian princes were the most striking part of the procession from the imperial viewpoint, and that there was no other country in the world that could furnish such a spectacle. The applause of the crowd along the whole line of route showed that they appreciated in a similar manner the presence of the Indian princes. The Queen alone received a more general and hearty welcome from the people.

The mistake of the procession, which was repeated on other occasions, and notably at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute, where the Indian representatives should have been assigned a more prominent and honourable position, was a blunder from the English and imperial and public point of view. It was not specially felt by the chiefs who, with perhaps two exceptions, received quite as much honour as they were entitled to, while several of no importance whatever obtained far more than they could rightfully have claimed. They had few standards of comparison, and no experience of Western etiquette or ceremonial, and were indifferent to the fact that petty German princes, of no political weight or interest, were treated as royal personages, while they themselves were placed on altogether a lower level, and relegated to the second seats and hired carriages. The mysteries of Court etiquette as practised at St. James's were as deep and inexplicable to them as they are to the majority of Englishmen, and they wisely refrained from criticizing ceremonial which they did not understand.

Most persons of authority in London society were of opinion that the Indian chiefs should have been received and treated as Royal guests. Seeing that the occasion was a special one; that they had come to do honour to the Queen;

that they were comparatively few in number while royal hospitality is, according to precedent, limited to a week, it would have been far more gracious and appropriate to have bestowed upon all the princes and deputations this simple and highly appreciated honour. I hear that it was conceded in one instance, very partially and in a half-hearted, shame-faced manner. If so, this only emphasizes the failure of hospitality in the case of the others. When the number and variety of the princes of Hindostan are considered, it will be evident that it would be impossible to treat them ordinarily as guests of the Crown on their visits to England. It is to be hoped that they will be our frequent visitors, holding this country to be a second home, and everything should be done to encourage and welcome them. A more intimate mutual knowledge will be of advantage to both England and India. But the occasion of the Jubilee was so special and the visits of the princes had been so directly connected with it, that it seems a pity that the Lord Chamberlain could not have included them for a week among the honoured guests of the Queen.

As this was not thought convenient, there was no excuse for the grave blunder which gave royal rank and precedence to a black lady from the Sandwich Islands. This was the only affront which was seriously felt by all the Indian princes. The administration of the islands from which the so-called Queen of Hawaii takes her name and title is understood to be run by certain smart Yankee merchants, who have elected a native chief as nominal ruler, whose name, David Kalakaua, suggests missionary intervention. This person might fitly rank with Cetewayo of African fame, and Queen Kāpiolani is as much an independent sovereign as is the wife of the gentleman who owns the Scilly Islands. American adventurers have not hitherto been held competent to grant patents of acknowledged royalty to their converted clients. The Lord Chamberlain might easily have ascertained from the United States minister in what style this lady is received in America, which is far

more intimately connected with Hawaii than is England. In the States, if I have been rightly informed by an American senator, she is treated like a private individual, and no official notice is taken of her whatever, and I can assert from personal knowledge that her reception at the Court of St. James' has astonished Americans quite as much as Englishmen. It is only the other day that the Hawaiian islanders were naked savages, with strongly marked cannibal propensities; and Her Majesty the Queen of Hawaii and the Princess Lilinokalani are still credited with a preference for raw over cooked fish. It is notorious that royal personages of European houses were seriously annoyed at the position accorded to the dusky Hawaiian in Court ceremonial, and it must not be a matter of surprise if the Indian princes shared the sentiment. If Hawaii and its late cannibal court disappeared beneath the waters of the Pacific the event would be regarded with supreme indifference by Englishmen. Yet the *soi-disante* queen of these obscure islands, whose whole revenue is far less than that of many English noblemen, is given precedence over the illustrious princes of Hindostan, whose pedigree stretches through all historic times, and whose loyalty and goodwill are of the utmost importance to this empire. Can there be any doubt that if the Nizam of Hyderabad himself had been present at the Jubilee, the most powerful ruler in India; or the Maharaja of Oudeypore, the most illustrious in descent, they would have been placed below these lately reclaimed savages of the South Sea? It should be clearly understood by the Court that the treatment of the Hawaiian Queen, granting her royal honours, Court carriages, and British sentries, gave great and deep offence to the more important Indian chiefs; and no prince of position will visit England with any satisfaction or security unless some assurance be given that so extraordinary an outrage on the sense of propriety and proportion will not be again committed. There are many dusky potentates in the regions of Central Africa or the islands of the Pacific who have not yet been

distinguished by royal favour, but who are as deserving of it as the Queen of Hawaii. If they can be induced to don the garments of civilization which missionary enterprize is doubtless preparing for them, they will hasten to appear at a Court where they are welcomed in so indiscriminating a manner and placed on an equality with the crowned heads of Europe. But it must be borne in mind that in this incident the Indian princes have no substantial grievance. The Queen of Hawaii was given precedence over all the princes of the great European houses, reigning monarchs alone excepted, and the Indians had no right or reason to specially complain.

The question of the relative position of Indian chiefs and members of European royal families is much more difficult, and it is only necessary to say that it would be well for the Court of St. James' to revise its code of State etiquette and make it more in accord with both the changes in modern Europe and the new departure in India and in Asia generally, which is bringing the more important native rulers to England. With the petty Indian chiefs no heart-burning is likely to arise; indeed, they invariably receive, like the Raja of Narsingarh last year, more attention than their rank and importance deserve; but with those of the first class the case is difficult. They are not independent; their foreign relations are under the strict control of the British Government, and one and all accept without question or demur their honourable place as feudatories of the Crown, a position to which they do not think of objecting, for they have always been feudatory to some central authority and have never known the sweets and dangers of independence. But, in their internal affairs, the collection and expenditure of their revenues and the administration of their States, they are practically independent; far more so than the minor states of Germany, which are subject to the general legislation of the Berlin Parliament and have to supply a fixed proportion of men to the imperial army. No law of the Legislative Council of India runs in Native States, while the chiefs are generally free

from any obligation to furnish troops or tribute. Some contingents are maintained and some tribute paid under ancient engagement, but this is the exception and not the rule. Such being the case, and the great if not vital importance to our supremacy of the loyal co-operation of the Indian chiefs being admitted, it would be well for the Lord Chamberlain to consider whether their relative position *quâ* the minor princes of European houses should not be improved. They have no claim to rank with European royalties or their immediate relations, sons and brothers; but there can be little hesitation in the mind of any historical or political student in assigning to the Maharaja of Kashmir or the Nizam of Hyderabad, or Oudeypore, or Gwalior, a place higher than that of the Grand Dukes and Serene Highnesses who live and move and have their being by permission of the Berlin Government, and the majority of whose States are insignificant in area, with a revenue less than that of an English nobleman of the second class. Within the German Empire there are only four States, Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Baden, which would, according to Indian statistics, count as of the first class, though Hesse and Mecklenburg-Schwerin might by courtesy be included. For purposes of comparison—although I readily allow that the comparative method is of small value in dealing with Oriental and Occidental States—we will place side by side the six most important members of the German Empire, and six of the most important Indian States :

GERMAN.			INDIAN.		
	Square Miles.	Population.		Square Miles.	Population.
1. Bavaria	29,291	5,284,778	1. Hyderabad	81,807	9,845,594
2. Saxony	5,789	2,972,805	2. Gwalior ...	29,067	3,135,857
3. Wurtemberg	7,531	1,971,118	3. Kashmir...	79,784	1,416,376
4. Baden	5,803	1,570,254	4. Mysore ...	24,723	4,186,188
5. Hesse... .. .	2,965	936,340	5. Baroda ...	8,570	2,185,005
6. Mecklenburg-Schwerin	5,137	577,055	6. Jaipur ...	14,465	2,834,357
Total ...	56,516	13,312,350	Total ...	238,416	23,383,377

The twenty-five subordinate States of Germany, including Alsace and Lorraine, are together smaller than either Hyderabad or Kashmir, while they are certainly not more independent of Imperial control. But the majority of the princes whose territories make up the German Empire possess on an average less than a thousand square miles of territory; while some, like Reuss and Schaumburg Lippe, sustain their ancestral dignities on the income they can raise from an area of 122 and 131 square miles with a population smaller than that of a third-class English town.

There are many other Indian principalities which, so far as area and population are concerned, compare favourably with the more important German States. Oudeypore the most illustrious of all, the head of the Rajputs of Hindostan, is twice as large as Saxony: Jodhpur, whose princes claim as ancient a pedigree, is as large as Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse together. Indore is larger than Wurttemberg: Pattiala, the head of the powerful Sikh States, is the same size as Baden; and Bhopal, the second Muhamadan State in rank, is considerably more extensive. It will be at once conceded that the German Principalities have an excellent administration, while the native States have ordinarily a bad one: that the rich, cultivated, and manufacturing population of Central Europe is far in advance, in material prosperity, of the poor and un-instructed agricultural population of India: but the main facts governing the ordinary rules of Court etiquette remain, that the Indian princes are more independent and rule larger territories and more numerous subjects than their German contemporaries.

It is not to be expected that the prescription and tradition which govern Court ceremonial can be hastily and without much deliberation put aside; and for this reason our Indian visitors have little or no reasonable ground for complaint at the position assigned to them relative to European princes during the late festivities. All that is here urged is that Court arrangements must show

themselves possessed of vitality and adaptiveness: and must alter with the changed conditions of the modern world. The present rules were framed when England was one of a group of European States the rulers of which formed one royal family, creating their own laws of etiquette and ignoring all beyond the sacred circle. An occasional comet may have rushed, like the Shah of Persia, through the official sky, throwing Lord Chamberlains into despair and paralysis, and probably receiving a far larger amount of honour than was his due. This certainly was the case with the Shah, who may call himself independent, but who is, in reality, less so than the Nizam of Hyderabad, who is of infinitely greater importance to English interests, whose administration is far less barbarous, who receives a larger revenue, and rules over a more numerous population. The Court officials have not understood that the old conditions are passing away. The East is waking from its long sleep of apathy, obstructiveness, and self-conceit. Its people are realizing that it is in the West that they must find the *elixir vitæ* which is to transform their sluggish, inert population into active, industrious, and thriving communities. A significant symptom of this change was shown in the pages of this Review, in the article on the "Awakening of China," by Marquis Tseng, the late Chinese ambassador. Other signs were numerous at the Jubilee, where, as visitors or guests, were present Indian Maharajas, Rajas, Nawabs, and Thakurs; Prince Komatsu of Japan, Prince Devawongse Varoprakar of Siam, and the Prince Abu Nasir Mirsa of Persia. The royalties of Asia have thus found their way within the holy of holies, the enchanted enclosure fenced around with mediæval tradition, which the royal personages of Europe have hitherto considered as created and reserved for themselves alone. But they must not hope to retain this exclusive Paradise: and it will be singularly inappropriate for England, which is the one world-Empire and before whose vast population and numberless allied, friendly, and feudatory princes, even Russia

is insignificant, to allow the royalties of Asia to consider themselves slighted and ostracized when they visit in London the headquarters of the greatest of Asiatic sovereigns.

It is so difficult for Englishmen unacquainted with India to understand the enormous difference which exists in the relative position of Indian princes, that it may be useful to enumerate, in order, those who have this year visited England.

The first in rank is the Guicowar of Baroda, whose health did not allow him to be present at the Jubilee, but who has lately arrived with his wife and a large following, after a prolonged tour in Switzerland and the Tyrol. He is the head of the Mahratta principalities, although he is not so important a factor in Indian politics as Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior. He is a young man of much intelligence and pleasing manners, with an unusual dislike for ceremony and pomp, and prefers to dress as an English gentleman, and to avoid rather than court public attention. He administers his State with considerable success, and is quite able to hold his own on all questions which may be in dispute with the paramount Power. His brother, who is resident at an English university, shares his studious tastes. He is a prince of the first class, and the highest in rank of Indian rulers who have ever visited England.

Second in order is Maharaja Holkar of Indore, also of Mahratta race. His father, a man of some financial ability and still greater eccentricity, raised his State from a very impoverished condition to almost the first rank, though whether it will retain this position depends on the as yet unproved administrative capacity of the present chief. Many stories have been current of the dissatisfaction of Holkar with the arrangements made for his reception by the Court; but there is reason to believe that his own bad temper was alone to blame for any failure to derive pleasure or profit from his tour. His principal native followers found it impossible to tolerate his conduct, and refused to accom-

pany him back to India. The advances of London society, which always offers a cordial welcome to foreigners of distinction, were generally repelled, and the Maharaja had not apparently learned that rank has obligations beyond personal ease and amusement; and that gentle manners and good breeding are expected of those who, with no personal claim to distinction beyond their rank and wealth, visit strange countries and claim the hospitality of foreigners.

The Rao of Kutch, with his younger brother Kalooba, represents an ancient and wealthy Rajput house, though without much political importance. His intelligence and good manners have secured him many friends, and there can be no doubt that his prolonged visit to England will be the source of much advantage to himself and his people.

The Maharaja of Kuch Behar is an exceedingly interesting personage, as representing the most complete specimen extant of the transformation of a Hindu nobleman into an English gentleman. He prefers Englishmen to his own countrymen, and is unhappy in any but English clothes. In all athletic pursuits, hunting, shooting, rackets, tennis, and dancing, he is quite in the front rank, and as an all round sportsman it would take a very good Englishman to beat him. Although he has certain conceded powers, judicial and otherwise, in his valuable estates, he is not a ruling prince, but a great landowner, and has no claim to be placed in the same category as the chiefs of Kutch or Indore.

The Thakurs of Morvi, Limri, and Gondal may be bracketed together as belonging to the same class of Rajput noblemen, of good education and even culture, with valuable estates and small political importance. They have all been received in English society with the greatest cordiality and distinction.

Of the deputations representing the native States, the first in rank is the Nawab Asman Jah, who was, during his visit to England, nominated Prime Minister of the Hyderabad State by the Nizam. Many will remember Sir Salar

Jang, the distinguished Hyderabad minister, when he was in England some years ago, the most capable of all native statesmen of this generation. On his sudden death, his son, who has taken the same name and who is now in England, was, most unwisely, permitted by Lord Ripon, in opposition to the opinion of Mr. Cordery, the British Resident, to succeed to his authority. The young man was weak and inexperienced; while his master, the Nizam, was little more than a boy, and the inevitable result of the administration of a great State being entrusted to untried hands—the blind leading the blind—soon followed, and Sir Salar Jang the second was dismissed. The new minister, Asman Jah, is an elderly gentleman, of pleasing address and some intelligence; though it is more than doubtful whether he has the strength or capacity to dominate the stormy Hyderabad politics.

The most striking figure in the deputations, and the man of highest family comes next in Maharaj Sir Partab Singh, K.C.S.I., brother of the illustrious Chief of Jodhpur, a thoroughly good fellow, a first-rate sportsman, and a loyal gentleman. He and a young relation were frequently seen riding in the Park, and he won fresh laurels on more than one English racecourse.

Kunwar Harman Singh, who is a Christian, as is his wife, the daughter of a well-known native missionary, is the uncle of the present minor Raja of Kapurthalla; an important Sikh State, which rendered excellent service during the mutiny, the then Raja Rundhir Singh, grandfather of the present chief, leading his troops in person to Delhi.

The Maharaja of Bhurtpore, whose State adjoins the British district of Agra, was also represented by a deputation. He is not of high family nor of much importance politically, and takes rank as a chief of the second class.

If, in concluding this article, it were asked what suggestions could be made to render arrangements for the reception, entertainment, and treatment generally of Indian

princes more satisfactory, I would say that this important department should be placed more directly under the Political Secretary at the India Office, who is now Sir Edward Bradford, V.C., K.C.S.I., an officer of great and varied experience in native States, who would be able, in communication with the Lord Chamberlain and the Court officials, to regulate the due position and treatment of Indian princes, not only with regard to European royalties and foreign powers like Her Majesty of Hawaii, but also *inter se*, which is at present the usual cause of offence. It is absurd to treat all Indian princes as of equal rank and consequence ; a great Maharaja and a petty Thakur, who are in reality separated by as great a distance as that which divides His Serenity of Reuss from the Emperor of Germany. But this certainly was a blot on Jubilee arrangements, and the Court, which can only obtain its information from the India Office, did not appear to have sufficient knowledge to differentiate. The business was in the hands of the political aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State, who had neither the authority and position, nor the political knowledge and experience of Indian princes and people to guide the Court officials aright. Lord Cross, the Secretary of State, was most anxious to please the Indian visitors, and was kindness itself ; but the duties of a Minister are too onerous to allow him leisure to master the intricacies of Indian etiquette. This requires the knowledge of an expert ; and the responsibility should rest with the Political Secretary, to whom in these matters the political aide-de-camp should be absolutely, and not only nominally, subordinate.

The Chiefs of India should further be graded, as can easily without offence be done, in distinct classes, promotion from one to the other being allowed for sufficient cause, and the procedure with regard to each on all official occasions in England, should be strictly laid down, with the relative position of each class with regard to European princes. This programme should be drawn up in com-

munication with the Viceroy and the Indian Foreign Office : although the Indian line of precedence should not be blindly followed, as many decayed and ill-governed States have, by custom, retained far too high a place, while new or well-administered States have not received sufficient recognition.

The question of precedence and etiquette is a very important one in India, though I do not think there is more slavish regard for trivial ceremonial in the East than the West, and the sooner doubtful questions are discussed and decided authoritatively the better. The great feudatories of the Crown, who fully appreciate the gracious regard of Her Majesty and the cordial sympathy of the English people, will then feel secure against the carelessness or ignorance of subordinate officials, who should have no power to set aside or modify the rules which had been framed by the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and the Lord Chamberlain.

BURMAH: OUR GATE TO CHINA.

THE protracted disorders in Burmah and the deficit resulting from the military occupation have occasioned some misgivings among certain of our political economists; but a brief review of the present position and future prospects of that country will, I believe, show such pessimistic views to be altogether unfounded, just as unfounded as were the views of those who in the early years of the annexation of the lower provinces pronounced our acquisition to be valueless, and strongly urged our ridding ourselves of a territory which in the past ten years has contributed over £8,000,000 surplus revenue to the Indian exchequer.

The recent outbreaks in Upper Burmah are of an altogether different character from the earlier insurrectionary movement, and are due to a variety of causes which can and will be removed by a continued just and firm administration, which will forward the development of the country, thus evolving order and enabling Upper Burmah not only to defray its expenses, but to prove highly remunerative. Considering the condition of the country, however, when we took possession of it, it is unreasonable to expect a task which took us ten years to accomplish in Lower Burmah to be completed in Upper Burmah, under much more difficult circumstances, in a couple of years. In dealing with Lower Burmah, we made the mistake of underestimating the future value and neglected to develop the internal communications, and it was not until the country began to be opened up that a large surplus and security were established, and the lesson will not be from its resources. It is to be

be forgotten in our dealings with the territory we have lately annexed.

The annexation of Upper Burmah and its Shan States has increased our Indian Empire by 188,000 square miles, an area one and a half times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, or twice the size of Lower Burmah. United Burmah is equal to one-third of our Indian possessions outside Burmah. Upper Burmah lies wedged in between hilly table-lands and mountain ranges on the east, west, and north, India lying on the west, China and the Burmese Shan States on the east, and Tibet and various hill tribes on the north. Our late annexation has placed us at the gates of the rich western provinces of China. It has broken down the barrier which blocked our railway approach from the sea and prevented the close connection of India and China, the two most populous empires in the world, occupied by some seven hundred million inhabitants, or about half the population of the globe. The Chinese province of Yunnan, which neighbours Burmah, is rapidly recovering from the effects of the civil war and pest which in 1873 had reduced the population to some four millions. Its population is now probably some seventeen millions. Ssu-chuan has about seventy-two millions, so that between them these two provinces have nearly ninety million inhabitants. The population of the Burmese Shan States may be taken at three millions, that of the Siamese Shan States at two millions, while that of Upper Burmah itself is probably not more than two millions. Only one half of Lower Burmah is culturable and only one-seventh of that half is at present under cultivation. Taking the present population of the lower province at four millions there is ample room in it for twenty-eight millions without over-crowding. If we take the culturable area of Upper Burmah and the Shan States as one-third their extent, there is room in plenty for an increase of eighty millions to the present population of United Burmah. This provides an admirable absorbing ground for the ever-growing and

dense populations of India, and for the rapidly increasing populations of South-western China.

One of the most remarkable facts about Lower Burmah is the rapidity with which the population has grown. In 1872 it only amounted to two-thirds of its amount in 1884, having risen in twelve years from two and three-quarter millions to over four million souls.

The inhabitants of our new territory comprise mainly Burmese and Shans, in probably about equal proportions, while the country is bordered on the north and west by many Tibetan, Shan, and other tribes, and in Yunnan by the Chinese, who are now streaming into that province from the over-populated province of Ssu-chuan. This current of migration is now continuously setting southward and westward, and occupying the rich regions desolated by rebellions. In time the fertile lowlands of Burmah will certainly receive a large access of population from this source—a most important consideration, for population is much wanted. Here it should be noted that the Yunnan Chinese are very different in character from the Cantonese and Fuhkienese who crowd into Lower Burmah, being more orderly and gentle in disposition, while the Tibetan and Shan tribes are akin to the Burmese, have a common religion, and would make admirable settlers.

The Shans, probably the most numerous of the Indo-Chinese races, are found as a fringe to both Upper and Lower Burmah, from the north-west by the north and east, extending along the length of our frontier from Assam far down into the Malay Peninsula. The Shans are a cultivated and lettered people, free from caste, being Buddhist, the most tolerant of non-Christian faiths. They are industrious and energetic, hospitable and frank towards strangers, eager for trade, and born petty traders: like the Burmese they spend money freely. They are found throughout Burmah and the Shan territory carrying their goods across the most difficult regions. Their country has no navigable rivers, and as no roads exist, carts are nearly unknown. The Shan

race forms a main ingredient in the population of South-western China, and many of the hill tribes bordering Tonquin, as well as the Siamese, are Shans.

A few words may be said regarding the trade of Lower Burmah. Its increase has corresponded with the development of the country, and the progress made is all the more remarkable considering the small amount expended upon public works. The table given below, taken from the Burmese Administration Report, shows that some six millions sterling were absorbed in eight years by the Central Government out of a gross revenue of seventeen millions. This must be allowed to be an excessive contribution to India which, if spent on the development of Burmah, would most likely have doubled its revenues.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DISPOSAL OF THE REVENUE OF BRITISH BURMAH, FOR EIGHT YEARS.

Years.	Gross Revenue.	Gross Charges in Civil Department.	Surplus in Civil Department.	Net Public Works Expenditure.	Net Surplus for Military Expenditure and Share of the Cost of Central Government.	Military Expenses.	Net Surplus available for Central Government.
1876-1877	£ 1,766,102	£ 704,941	£ 1,061,161	£ 176,013	£ 885,148	£ 283,339	£ 601,809
1877-1878	1,744,539	668,644	1,075,895	110,738	* 965,157	270,191	694,966
1878-1879	1,909,915	755,218	1,154,697	163,407	991,290	272,341	718,949
1879-1880	2,149,373	836,322	1,313,051	140,043	1,173,008	381,559	791,449
1880-1881	2,186,430	923,404	1,263,026	217,383	1,045,643	361,623	684,020
1881-1882	2,478,516	967,103	1,511,413	353,991	1,157,422	311,577	845,845
1882-1883	2,505,735	1,070,995	1,434,740	401,441	1,033,299	274,656	758,643
1883-1884	2,639,657	1,144,054	1,495,603	332,466	1,163,137	274,474	888,663
	17,380,267	7,070,681	10,309,586	1,895,482	8,414,104	2,429,760	5,984,344

When we occupied Upper Burmah we found, owing to the misrule during the reign of the late King Theebaw, lawlessness and anarchy ruling everywhere and an organized system of dacoity, or gang-robbery, spread like a network over the country, in which the whole officialdom was interested; from the village *thugyi*, or headman, to the

man, or governor; from the governor to the ministers at Mandalay. The country possessed only one artery of communication—the Irrawaddi,—the main branches, the Chindwin and Moo, being unnavigable for the greater part of the year. There were no roads or bridges. The principal source of revenue to the dacoits from first to last has been derived from cattle lifting, the cattle being sold on the riverine markets, or converted into hides for export. Not only has dacoity thus decreased the number of cattle, but the military operations have necessarily aggravated the difficulty. The result is that the existing number of cattle is insufficient for the cultivation of the fields during the rains and for transport purposes during the dry weather.

Under ordinary circumstances we must expect for some years to come a considerable amount of dacoity. But the present condition of the people is exceptional. They have in great part lost their old and only means of livelihood, and until that is restored to them we must expect not only the ordinary dacoity incidental to Burman life, but that want will drive a considerable section of the people, ordinarily peaceable, order-loving folk, to find in dacoity a means of living. The task before us is to evolve and maintain order, and to develop the resources of the country. In order to accomplish this we must first give to the people, by laying down communications, the means of providing themselves with cattle and thus regaining their sole means of existence.

The natural resources of the country are as varied as its physical and climatic conditions. While Lower Burmah is mainly dependent upon rice, the whole delta being one vast rice-field, the upper country produces rice, wheat, maize, and other cereals, which are grown in many parts in large quantities. Tobacco is produced in Upper as well as Lower Burmah, the native leaf being employed almost exclusively in the manufacture of native cigarettes, smoked by every one in the country. The castor-oil plant grows wild, but so far has not proved a success when culti-

vated. The tea-plant is found in abundance in the Shan country, east of Burmah, and in the upper valleys of the Irrawaddi and Chindwin. The leaf is not dried but "pickled," known to the Burmese as *lepet*, an article from which the king derived a revenue of some £80,000 a year. There should be in Burmah a field for European enterprise in the cultivation of tea, and many parts, particularly the Shan States, should be suitable for coffee. Cotton is grown in various parts of Upper Burmah. Like the Bengal cotton it is short in staple, and goes to China almost exclusively. Indigo is cultivated for local use. Sesamum and teal, or gingelly seed, are largely cultivated, and locally used for cooking and the toilet. Wheat, grain, beans, and peas of various kinds are grown. Of forest products the most valuable are teak, cutch, and bamboo; and there are many serviceable timbers used locally, which will certainly be exported before long. Wood oils and resins and india-rubber are plentiful, while stiklac is found in considerable quantity.

In mineral wealth the country is undoubtedly rich. The report of the Geological Survey now being made will be looked forward to with interest, as little that is reliable is as yet known on the subject. Of gold and silver mines nothing trustworthy is known. Gold-washing is practised in the Katha district below Bhamo and in the Salween, Chindwin, and their tributaries; but most of the gold-leaf, so freely used on pagodas and images in Burmah, is imported from China. Silver occurs in the Shan States at various places and in the upper valleys of the Irrawaddi, the silver lead ore being galena. Argentiferous ores likewise occur in Yunnan and in the Kachin hills. Jade is found in large quantity in the Mogaung district, and about the head-waters of the Chindwin and other upper affluents of the Irrawaddi. Mogaung supplies Burmah and part of China with jade, but the chief supplies for the China market come from Karakash in Turkestan. The stone has been a Government monopoly, the dealers being Chinese

merchants. The jade exported to China *via* Lower Burmah amounted to £70,000 a year, while a good deal went *via* Bhamo. It is almost speculative business, small pieces of the finest quality fetching long prices while blocks which are not to the liking of the Chinese connoisseur are almost worthless. The most valuable kind is of a bright clear green resembling the emerald, a red and pale pinkish variety being also much prized. Amber is found in the Hukung valley, and bought by Chinese and Shan merchants, but not so far as is yet known in large quantity.

The mining implements are of the rudest description. Platinum occurs with the gold in several districts, and is known to the Burmese as *shuay pyoo* or "white gold." Copper comes from Yunnan, copper ores being found near Momein and in the Shan States, where they are to a small extent smelted. Lead ores containing silver occur at several places in the Shan States and in Burmah. Iron is manufactured at various localities of the Shan States. In Yunnan iron is largely in use, and several suspension bridges over the largest rivers are made of iron. Much has been heard of the "Ruby mines" in Burmah, and great value was seemingly attached to them by the French. The system of mining is rude in the extreme and until the mines have been visited by the independent expert who is being sent there by the Secretary of State it will be impossible to arrive at any estimate of their real value, but it is very doubtful in my opinion whether under British administration they can be profitably worked by European agency. The most valuable of the Upper Burmah minerals is probably coal, found in quantity at (1) Thingadau, some seventy miles above Mandalay, within a few miles of the river; (2) Kalè, one hundred and fifty miles up the Chindwin River and three miles from the main stream; (3) at Panlaung, with the most accessible known outcrop at Myittha near Hlaingdet; (4) at several places in the Shan plateau. It is plentiful at the headwaters of the Chindwin and Irrawaddi and is worked on the Indian side of the Patkoi range at Makum. The coal

sources are being inspected by an officer of the Geological Survey and will shortly be reported on, when capitalists will doubtless come forward to work the coal, and it is to be hoped that the navigation on the Irrawaddi and the railways may be worked by this local supply. Salt is manufactured at various places in Upper Burmah and Yunnan; but the European article has almost killed the native industry in Burmah. Petroleum is found principally at Yenangyoung and Pagan. The wells cover a considerable area, are numerous, and have been worked for the last two thousand years, being probably the next oldest oil-wells in the world to those in Western China which are very similar in character. Owing to royalties, ignorance as to the manner of refining, and other causes the local petroleum has not been able to compete successfully with American kerosine which is largely sold in Burmah. A great future is probable for this industry if it is worked properly. Petroleum occurs also at Muang Fang in the Shan State of Zimmè (according to Mr. Hallett), and in North-east Assam.

There seems to be reasonable ground to believe that some of these resources will prove of considerable commercial value. The most important will probably be coal and petroleum which may prove of enormous value. It is of the first importance to us to possess on the eastern side of our Indian Empire oil-fields, and there seem good prospects that in North-east Assam, Upper Burmah and its Shan States we shall find such a supply as may place us in the position of a petroleum Power. In working the mines and other industries it is to be hoped that their exploitation will not be over-hampered with Government restrictions such as have proved so detrimental to similar undertakings in India. It is satisfactory to know that the oil industry has been left open to all comers. The petroleum industry of Russia is the only one in that country in which absolute freedom from protection or control exists, and its progress dates from the day on which the Government abolished all privileges. While the mineral wealth of Upper Burmah is

likely to attract speculators, it is in the fertility of the soil and riches of the forest that the main wealth of the country will be found. Upper Burmah is more generally fertile and has a greater future before it than Lower Burmah. With a stable and just government, and a contented and rapidly increasing population the development of the country must be rapid.

The wealth of Upper Burmah including its resources in Western China, the Shan States, and Siam, is incalculable, but it lies fallow at present for want of communications. It has been too commonly assumed that the annexation would be followed by complete order and an immediate and widespread increase to our trade. Order will come and wealth will certainly follow, but to ensure this we must lay down a network of communications over the new province, and extend our trade with China by a railway along which trade will naturally flow. Without facilitating our communications we need expect no great extension of our commerce either in China, Burmah, or other parts of Indo-China. The laying down of a comprehensive system of railways and of feeder roads to open up the country to the railways and main river communication will involve a considerable outlay for some years to come, but the money thus invested will be richly repaid in Upper Burmah, more amply than the capital expended in Lower Burmah has paid notwithstanding the gloomy prophecies of the pessimists who find it impossible to look forward a few years.

In a recent communication to *The Times* I noted that every officer of standing, both civil and military, whom I met in Upper Burmah was greatly impressed with the value of the country and the necessity for communications. Sir Frederick Roberts, the late Sir Herbert Macpherson, Sir George White, Mr. Fryer—my own commissioner—and Mr. Crosthwaite, the present Chief Commissioner,* all considered them urgently needed.

* By a recent telegram we learn that Mr. Crosthwaite has proposed to Government the sanction of a railway survey up the basin of the river Moo to Mogaung and thence to Bhamo, a most admirable project.

Sir Charles Bernard, the late Chief Commissioner, in an able memorandum dated June 10, 1886 embodied his views on the question of a railway from Tonghoo to Mandalay, and from this document (which is to be found in Blue-book, Burmah, No. 1, 1887) I make the following extracts :

"Carts now ply on these routes by devious tracts across rice-fields, through jungles, over stony uplands, and through muddy streams. But the tracts are so rough and difficult, that cart-hire in those regions comes to six and seven annas per ton per mile during the five months for which the tracks are passable. During seven months the tracks are nearly impassable; carts, if they ply at all, carry light loads; and the cost of carriage comes to something over one rupee per ton per mile. No doubt these rates would be reduced if good metalled and bridged roads were made, but such roads would cost about Rs. 12,000 a mile, and even then cart hire would come to about four annas per ton per mile. . . .

"Concerning the advantages that would result to trade and agriculture in Upper Burmah. . . . It is not only the through traffic that would be benefited, but the local traffic would be indefinitely improved and extended, if only cheap, certain, and rapid means of communication existed. For instance, the country around Wundwin produces cotton, millet, and pulse, but no rice; it gets its rice at great cost from Ningyan or Yamethin. Kyaukse grows no cotton or pulse, but has an immense surplus of rice. With carriage at one anna a ton, instead of eight annas a ton, the transport of these staples would be greatly facilitated and extended. But the greatest service which the railway would do for trade would be the development of traffic with the Shan States. The Shans are an industrious, lightly taxed people, with a strong turn for trading of all kinds. They are the chief customers for the large trade in English goods to Mandalay. The population of the Shan country is not known, but it would be safe to say that 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 of Shans would draw their supplies from, and send their exportable goods to, stations on the Mandalay railway. The four chief passes from the Shan plateau have their mouths within ten or thirty-five miles from the proposed line of railway. At present all the Shan trade comes to the Irrawaddy or to the Toungoo railway station on pack-bullocks; and the Mandalay railway would reduce the length of pack-bullock transport for all the Shan trade by about one hundred miles on the average. Hereafter we shall, doubtless, be able to make a cart-road on the Shan plateau by one or other of the passes. Already carts ply on the Shan plateau for forty or fifty miles on each side of Nyaungywe and Inleywa; and it is said that in past years a few carts, lightly laden with salt, have made their way to the Shan plateau by the Pyindet pass opposite Hlaingdet. By this pass, Inleywa, the chief mart of the cis-Salween Shan plateau, will be distant about twenty-five miles from the nearest railway station on the proposed line.

"The political results of the opening of the railway at Mandalay would be most important both on Upper Burmah and on the Shan States. In

Upper Burmah great numbers of the people hardly believe that the British have conquered the country and have occupied Mandalay, while many more do not realize that we intend to stay and govern the country in behalf of the Queen Empress. The effect of opening a State railway to Mandalay on doubts of this kind would be conclusive. Then the employment and wages given on the railway would have an excellent effect in pacifying the country and reconciling the people to English rule. In the tract through which the railway will pass, the villages have been harried by dacoits and rebels, and the people generally have been upset and disturbed by the anarchy of the past year. From November till March last there was practically no government at all in the region from Ningyan to Kyaukse; and even now our troops and civil officers have not made themselves felt in the tracts around the upper part of Section III. of the proposed line. The immediate effect on the people of having properly guarded and protected railway works opened over a considerable section of country would be very great; the people would have work to do in the slack season; money would be spent upon them; and they would see material evidence of the interest taken in their country by the British Government. Of course these effects of the railway works would be only temporary, but they would come at a time when the presence of such influences is most desirable, for our present object is to get the people of these tracts to settle down, to find scope for their energies, and to get a living for their families by quiet work. The lasting effects of opening the railway on the people would be that they would travel to and fro; they would understand the British power, the British system, and the British Government's carefulness for the good of the people; and gradually they might become willing subjects of Her Gracious Majesty.

"On the Shan States and the Shan population the effect of the railway would be to reconcile them to British supremacy by opening their country and trade to the outer world, and by bringing them in contact with British officers from whom they would learn that the Government does not wish to subvert their autonomy, to burden them with taxation, or to trouble them with regulations. The conduct of the Shan States and Shan people is an unknown and an important factor in the Upper Burmah problem. Hitherto they have as a nation kept aloof from Burmese pretenders, Burmese rebels, and Burmese dacoits, though occasional parties of Shan marauders have been in the ranks against us; and the Shan chiefs (Sawbwas) have sent letters expressive of friendliness to the British Government. But if the Shans were to take active part against us, or to support any of the Burmese pretenders, they would be a formidable addition to our foes, for the Shans are a braver race and more amenable to discipline than the Burmese. Moreover, any Shan force that was defeated in the plains could take refuge in the fastnesses of their hills, whither it would be an arduous and costly business to follow them. So far as the proposed railway may help in keeping the Shans friendly and in promoting our communications with them, it will do much political good."

Again in a supplementary memorandum dated July 31, 1886, Sir Charles writes:—

"It is quite true that roads are greatly needed in Upper Burmah. Outside a few towns and villages there is not a mile of made-road or a single bridge. But the roads that are wanted are cross roads to the Irrawaddy River, or to some other main line of communication, whereby produce can be carried to the seaboard and English goods can be transported into the interior. For the central and western districts the Irrawaddy River constitutes an excellent commercial artery. But along the base of the Shan hills there is a great land-locked tract, distant one hundred to sixty miles from the Irrawaddy, and separated from that river by the broken, upland country which forms the continuation of the Pegu Yoma hills, and which culminates in the Popa peak, over 4,000 feet above the sea. At present very little surplus produce gets across to the river from this tract, and vast areas of fertile land that might be cultivated are left untilled because there is no outlet for the produce."

What is said here regarding the eastern district applies, though with perhaps not quite so much force, to several of the western districts, the Chindwin, the Upper Moo, and the districts north-west of Bhamo, where extensive land-locked belts of fertile country occur, cut off in exactly the same way as the eastern tract of which Sir Charles speaks.

The whole question of communications in Eastern Burmah is well summed up in a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated Simla, September 20, 1886, from which I quote the following extracts, as it could not be better expressed than in the language of Lord Dufferin :—

"Your lordship will perceive from a perusal of Sir Charles Bernard's notes that the construction of the proposed railway is practically an administrative necessity, owing to the physical configuration of the country, by which the entire eastern section of the province is cut off from communication with the great arterial line of the Irrawaddy River, which serves as the highway of trade and base of military operations for the Western and Central districts. A well-devised system of comparatively short and cheap roads to connect the more inland towns and villages of these naturally favoured districts with those on the banks of the main stream or of its navigable affluents will suffice to give easy access to them, at all seasons and afford every necessary administrative and commercial facility for many years to come. The transport by cart of bulky country produce is always costly, but short leads to points where water carriage is available add but little to the aggregate cost of conveyance from the place of production to final destination, and under no conditions are they ever altogether avoidable. Military operations of which the scope does not extend much above an ordinary day's march from a river base can moreover

always be executed with rapidity, and they entail no embarrassment on account of land transport for the carriage of supplies, &c.

"The case of the Eastern districts lying between the Shan hills and the Pegu Yoma range is however quite different." This extensive tract, about one hundred and fifty miles long with an average breadth of about fifty miles, is for all practical purposes land-locked and possesses no natural line of through communication or outlet for its produce. A considerable portion of it is fairly populous and well cultivated, and the only bar to the extension of cultivation is the difficulty of carrying the produce to a profitable market. The cart tracks across the broken upland country which separates it from the Irrawaddy are few and bad, and the distance to be traversed before water carriage can be obtained varies from eighty to one hundred miles. Owing to the long land march required to gain access to the heart of this tract, whichever way it is approached, the movement of troops is a costly and tedious matter, and the position of our garrisons on the Shan border, cut off as they are from all possibility of speedy reinforcement in cases of emergency, a source of anxiety. The difficulty of access, and the slowness with which military movements have necessarily to be executed, are moreover calculated to dispose the people to turbulence, and as a consequence to seriously retard the work of pacification.

"Whether we connect these isolated districts with the great highway of the Irrawaddy at three or more points by cross roads perpendicular to the general course of that river, or with the river on the north at Mandalay and with the railway on the south at Toungoo by a trunk road traversing it from end to end, the cost will practically be the same, viz., about thirty lacs in either case without bridges over the principal streams. But to effectually open out the tract by roads alone, so far as it can be opened by means of roads only, would in our opinion require the construction of both the cross and the longitudinal roads, involving an outlay of not less than sixty lacs, and for this sum we should obtain about five hundred miles of road, with the principal streams unbridged. Some sections of the cross roads would necessarily have to run through wild and rugged country involving stiff inclines and heavy haulage. With the help of such a system of longitudinal and transverse roads reinforcements and supplies could probably be made to reach Yemethen, the heart of these districts, in about ten days after despatch, from either extremity of the trunk line or from a point on the river base along one of the transverse routes, provided the necessary transport could be immediately collected and made available for the use of the expeditionary troops. But with the help of a railway the time required to reach Yemethen would be scarcely as many hours, and no delays need be apprehended on the score of transport.

"We must, however, explain that the above figures are Sir C. Bernard's, on the basis of an average of Rs. 12,000 per mile, which appears to us to be very low.

"As regards the development of trade and agriculture, which we look upon as a most important factor for the success of any scheme for the early settlement of the province, we have no hesitation in accepting Sir C. Bernard's views as to the inadequacy of roads alone to produce any marked effect upon either, so far as the Eastern districts are concerned. In a country so naturally fertile as Burmah it requires but little effort to obtain

from the soil sufficient food for the needs of the people, and the stimulus of a ready and remunerative market for the products of its labour is necessary to induce a pleasure-loving race, not too prone to physical exertion, though keen traders where a fair profit is attainable, to settle down to the peaceful occupations of agriculture and commerce.

"A railway while under construction would provide ample employment for the labouring classes, and the influx of money into the district would give an impetus to production and trade, which the facilities afforded by it, on opening would subsequently foster and enlarge.

"Sir Charles Bernard shows conclusively to our minds that no system of road communication which it is possible for us to make will bring the districts along the Shan border within reach of a profitable market for their produce. The distances to be traversed and consequently the cost of transport by cart will be too great to allow of the necessary margin for profit in competition with the produce of more favoured localities. The State cannot find continuous employment for a population which has no incentive to work in its own interests, and, lacking employment of a sufficiently lucrative character to keep the masses occupied and content, civil administration would we fear be impossible without the constant presence and support of a large military garrison scattered in strong detachments over the face of the country, and maintained at a cost far beyond the capabilities of the provincial finances to bear.

"A railway to connect Mandalay with Toungoo may therefore, on the grounds above set forth, be looked upon as a necessity of economical administration; that its construction would greatly contribute to the strength of our military position in the province, and more especially in its eastern and least accessible districts, we have already pointed out; and we may also add that from a political point of view the effect of opening a railway to Mandalay cannot fail to be most important both on Upper Burmah and on the Shan States bordering it, by removing conclusively all doubts as to the conquest of the country and as to its having been finally annexed, facts which have not yet been fully realized by a considerable proportion of the people. That as a commercial undertaking it would ultimately prove a decided success, we have the experience of the railways already made and working in this province, under almost precisely similar conditions, to justify us in confidently predicting. The initial cost of a railway would, indeed, be from six to seven times as great as that of a trunk road of the same length or from three to four times that of a combination of cross and trunk lines of road, but the capital sunk in its construction would in a short time give a return exceeding the interest charges on it; whereas the mere maintenance expenses of a road system would represent a capitalized sum fully 50 per cent. greater than its first cost. The traffic thrown by the extension on the Toungoo Rangoon Section would also be a source of considerable revenue with which the extension may fairly be credited as indirect profits. The railway would thus not only be self-sustaining, but contribute from its excess profits towards the up-keep of the roads, which must hereafter be made to supplement and feed it, besides being an instrument for the pacification and development of the districts it will serve incomparably superior to any system of roads however perfect."

That in such a system of communications, spread over the western as well as eastern districts, we should find the most efficient means of reassuring the people, and of promoting the pacification and development of the country, cannot be doubted. The policy indicated has always proved so successful in political and commercial results, and as a nation we have had so many examples of its advantages, that it seems singular that any advocacy of its efficacy should be required. If we are not satisfied with past history which tells us how the Romans always laid down roads as the first essential of a newly-conquered country, and how General Wade pacified the Highlands by the same means, we can turn to modern events in the expansion of Russia, the other great European Power in Asia. The Caucasus was never pacified until it was intersected by roads, laid down by orders of Prince Warontsoff. But the total pacification of Turkmenia, due to the Transcaspian railway, is the most striking illustration of the value of communications as a pacifying agent in a country presenting many difficulties. The Russians inflict punishment upon insurrectionary tribes in the shape of compulsory construction of roads at their own cost, as in the case of the tribesmen who revolted in 1877 and joined the Turks.

The Chinese likewise understand the value of communications in a new country, and at the present time are busily engaged in Formosa in laying down roads and railways. The present chief officer of the civil administration there has recently secured the subjection of a large number of tribes by means of roads, hemming them in, and creating a system of communications valuable for administrative and commercial purposes. These are now being followed by railways.

The French in Tonquin are also awake to the paramount necessity for communications. A recent number of the *Journal Officiel* contained the report transmitted to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by the Commission on Tonquin railways. This report contains an able *résumé* of

the information necessary for coming to a decision upon the question of railways, and lays down three lines as a network of the first importance, namely—

1. Hanoi to the sea at Port Courbet, *viâ* Kwangyen.
2. Hanoi to Yunnan frontier, *viâ* Vietri and Laokai.
3. Bacninh to Kwangsi, *viâ* Langson.

Two other lines are projected, one to the Laos country with Luang Prabang or else Ssumao as its terminus, and the other to Annam.

Those to be commenced first are (1) the sea-line, and (2) the first section of the Yunnan line.

These lines are being laid down not merely for political, administrative, and military reasons, but in order to satisfy industrial and commercial interests.

It is pointed out in the report quoted that all the nations of Europe have been seeking for the last half-century to penetrate that vast market which is now hemmed in on all sides: by Russia on the north, by the maritime Powers on the east, by France on the south, and Britain on the south-west—along the length of its Burmese frontier. It is the neighbourhood to this vast market of some 400 million inhabitants and unexploited natural riches which has stimulated the French more than any intention to develop the country itself, and thus increase within Tonquin the importance of a market where French industries will find openings for their products, under conditions more favourable than the products of other nations.

The Langson line is designed to reach the markets of Kwangsi and part of Kwangtung. I have recently indicated in *The Times* how our interests in that quarter can be safeguarded, namely, by the opening of Wu-châu on the Canton River as a treaty port, and the creation of a railway line from the port of Pakhoi on the Tonquin Gulf to Nanning, the most important trade centre on the Canton River.

As regard Yunnan, the Hanoi-Laokai line seeks to gain the trade of that province. It is however in the north,

near Ssu-chuan, and in the south-west towards the Shan country that the richest and most populated parts of Yunnan are found. The French report confesses that the richer country lies on the side of Burmah in the Shan country, belonging to us, through which the line long ago projected by Mr. Hallett and myself would run, and that the country towards Tonquin is more wild and less opened up.

Regarding the Yunnan line the report says :

"The trace of the line from the delta to Yunnan it would seem must coincide with the great natural route of the Red River, the most easy, the best known, the most frequented. The insufficiency of the water communications being granted, as we have said, being dangerous, uncertain, and intermittent, in both senses slow and ruinous in the ascent, it is necessary to provide the construction of an iron road by Vietri (on the left bank of the Songkoi), Than-Quan, and Bao-Ha to Laokai as terminus; with Manhao, Montze, Kaihoa as the first objective; later with the principal centres of Yunnan, and a part of Ssu-chuan as the ulterior objective. This line should traverse Yunnan through the centre, and draw the greater part of the currents (of trade) which tend to disperse; on one side by the Yangtze and the Sikiang (Canton River) towards the ports of Shanghai, Canton Hong Kong and Pakhoi upon the China Seas; on the other side by the Mèkong, the Salween, the Irrawaddi, and even the Brahmaputra, towards the ports of the Gulf of Bengal. . . . Its execution may prove fruitful if the commercial currents of Yunnan follow their traditional tendencies, and are not diverted by any artificial obstacle."

The "artificial obstacle" referred to, it is needless to say, is the construction of a railway from Burmah to China.

In the report the commission draw attention to the value of "le Laos," by which they mean the Shan country, and it is necessary for us, but more especially for the Siamese, to note carefully what they think on the subject. I therefore quote *in extenso* the following passage: "To the basin of the middle Mèkong corresponds Laos (the Shan country), a vast undulating plateau, of a sufficiently high altitude, covered with forests, where are met the essentials of our climates. These countries, hardly yet explored, seem destined to become, thanks to their climatic conditions and to their geographical situation, a centre of European colonization. the link of necessary union between

India and China. Luang Prabang, in particular, would seem called upon to play a preponderating rôle."

As far back as 1882 I drew attention to the importance attached to Luang Prabang by the French and the value of the position, and showed that the French would encroach on Luang Prabang as soon as possible after the occupation of Tonquin. As a strategical position it is of the highest importance, and any one who holds Luang Prabang practically commands the Mèkong valley basin lying between it and Cambodia, or more than half of the Siamese dominions, a circumstance that should be of considerable interest to the Siamese. The views of the French commission derive an additional and special interest from the fact that some months ago a band of Hors, Chinese freebooters from the Yunnan-Tonquin frontier, occupied and destroyed the place, and a joint Franco-Siamese mission is about to proceed to Luang Prabang to inquire into matters connected therewith. It may be found necessary by the French at any time to pursue these evil-doers, and once at Luang Prabang the French are not unlikely to find powerful reasons to compel them to remain in a place enjoying such numerous and varied advantages.

I have shown what the opinions of Sir Charles Bernard and Lord Dufferin are as regards internal communications; and the Government of India has put on record its opinion of the value of railways in Burmah in the following passage (Report on East Indian Railway communications of the House of Commons Committee of 1884):

"The great financial success of the Rangoon-Prome Railway—a success almost-unprecedented in railway construction in India—has demonstrated that railways in Burmah will, on account of the enterprising character of the people and the great undeveloped wealth of the country, not only give large indirect returns in land, customs, and forest revenue, but will pay, within a very short period after being opened to traffic, a fair percentage of net income on their capital cost."

As regards the trade of South-western China, it has increasingly been the object of the British commercial

communities for the past fifty years to expand our commerce in that region. As far back as 1829 Lord William Bentinck, and in 1836 Lord Auckland interested themselves in the question of opening communication with the Shan States and South-western China. In 1861 Sir Arthur Phayre, the first Chief Commissioner of Burmah, recommended the sanction of a survey to Kiang Hung; and in 1866 Lord Salisbury, then Viscount Cranborne, acknowledging the great importance of the question, sanctioned a railway survey to China which however was not carried out, and in 1874 once more sanctioned a survey to Kiang Hung or some point near it, to use his own words, "both in the interests of England and British Burmah." In 1869 the Duke of Argyll sanctioned a survey between Tonghoo and Kiang Hung, if it could be carried out without political complications or undue expenditure. No survey, however, was executed beyond our boundary until in 1883 I organized an exploration-survey with the aid of several leading Chambers of Commerce and the Straits Government, then under the able administration of Sir Frederick Weld, which, in my unavoidable absence on a mission to China, was carried out by my friend and colleague Mr. Holt Hallett, who from first to last has worked with me on this scheme without remuneration. Mr. Crosthwaite, the present Chief Commissioner, in 1883 urged the Government of India to construct the first section of the line for the connection of Maulmain with Rangoon, so as to form the base of a Burmah-China railway.

It is eminently satisfactory to note that the treaty lately concluded provides that both England and China shall "protect and encourage trade between China and Burmah," and arranges for a delimitation commission to define the frontier between Yunnan and Burmah. It is to be hoped that advantage will be taken of the opportunity to have a study made of the features of the British Shan country intervening between Burmah and China.

Burmah, we must remember, is our gate to China, and

therefore our north-eastern frontier is of vastly greater commercial importance to us than our north-western one. Compare the two for a second. On the latter the railways are mainly strategic and political, hardly in any sense meant to attain any commercial object; they are purely defensive, and lead to barren regions. On the former we move towards a friendly and peaceful Power, offering us new markets, with well-founded hopes of vast future expansion. The opening of such markets must lead to an enormous development of our mutual trade.

Three great Powers now divide the greater part of Asia between them—Britain, China, and Russia. With 268,000,000 Asiatic fellow subjects in India, we are as much an Asiatic as a European Power. Russia makes rapid advances with her railways and is thus spreading her power commercially and politically in Asia. With the Russian line from the Caucasus and the Caspian gradually extending to our Indian frontier, and from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, with a Trans-Asiatic line being extended through Siberia to Vladivostock, skirting the frontier of China's northern possessions, Russia is wisely connecting Central Russia with the two extremes of her possessions, and placing herself in a position of great advantage with respect to China and India (and therefore Britain), the two other great Asiatic Powers, and all countries bordering India.

The vast importance to this country of closer relations with China not only from commercial but political considerations has in the last few years grown greatly on the nation. China has recently undergone great changes, has passed through a silent revolution which has worked a profound change in her public system and endowed her with new sources of strength. The idea of an alliance between Britain and China has its foundations in the actual circumstances of the two empires. Russia is an aggressive Power, while China and Britain are essentially commercial and peaceful, though both can fight when

necessary. With such common characteristics the fundamental material interests of both are united. The common interest becomes plainer year by year, and if the union seems somewhat slow, it will be none the less solid for that. The alliance between Britain and China is a growing necessity, and can and should be cemented by friendly relations and inter-communications. With such an alliance fear of further Russian aggression would cease. It would be the best guarantee for the preservation of the interests and extension of the commerce of the two empires as well as for the peace of Asia.

I have shown that Upper Burmah, our newly-annexed territory, adds to our Indian Empire an area one and a half times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, with a population of some five millions—a country of vast and varied resources in climate, soil, forests, and mineral wealth, especially coal and petroleum. By its possession we have gained a gate to China for the use of the mother country and India, and if we choose can now connect by railway India and China, the two most populous empires in the world. The three Chinese provinces nearest to Burmah, rich land-locked markets, contain about one hundred million inhabitants, or a greater population than our immediate neighbours, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark combined. We now border Yunnan, the rich South-west Province of China, which is rapidly recovering its former population and prosperity. With immigration setting steadily westwards and southwards from the densely-populated central provinces of China, if we facilitate communications, the stream which is filling Yunnan will flow into the fertile lands of the Shan plateau and Burmah, thus supplying a great want, population. Railways and roads are required for the pacification of the country, as well as for the promotion of its prosperity and the creation of an important market for our merchandise. Owing to the delay in opening the country the pacification of Lower Burmah took ten years to complete, and that country was

at the time pronounced an *entombance*, which would never pay its expenses. Yet it began to pay as soon as the communications were taken in hand, and during the last ten years has paid into the Indian exchequer, after defraying all its expenses, over eight millions sterling, namely, one-third of its gross revenues. The problem before us is much the same in Upper Burmah as it was in the lower province. Upper Burmah will not be fully pacified, nor will its great potential wealth be made available, until we open the country by a network of communications. The value of railways, the superiority of the shovel over the sword, as an agent of pacification, has been shown; and the opinions of Sir Herbert Macpherson, Sir Charles Bernard, and Lord Dufferin in favour of the construction of railways in the country have been quoted, while the Government of India considers that Burmese railways are certain to become rapidly remunerative, both directly and indirectly. We have now formidable rivals for the trade of China both on its sea-board where we must compete with America and the leading nations of Europe, in the north with Russia, and on the south and south-west with France. Russia is extending her railway system to the north of China, while France is about to lay down two separate lines for the purpose of tapping the trade of South-east and South-west China respectively, while a third line is designed later to compete against us in the British and Siamese Shan States. With ever-increasing competition of our foreign rivals, with hostile tariffs hampering and threatening to stifle our trade in Europe and America, and with our Colonies turning into manufacturing powers, new markets are becoming an absolute necessity for Britain. Lord William Bentinck in 1829, and Lord Auckland in 1836 interested themselves in the question of opening communications with China; as far back as 1861 Sir Arthur Phayre advocated the connection of Burmah and China by railway; Lord Salisbury in 1866 and again in 1875 ordered a survey for the railway to be made; and the

Duke of Argyll once more in 1869. But it was left to the enterprise of private individuals, backed by the support of the mercantile community and the Government of Singapore, to undertake and execute the survey over the greater portion of its length. We have now an unrivalled opportunity of reaching the markets of Southern and Western China, and of commercially cementing our relations with the other Peace-Power of Asia, by the extension of our railway system to Ssumao, the south-west gate to China. Exploration after exploration has proved that the most practicable route is the one traced by Mr. Holt Hallett and myself after five years' study of the question and services rendered gratuitously to the country, both in the field and at home. It is to be hoped that this railway, so vital for the extension of our commerce, will be undertaken without delay.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENARES, 1781.

THE writer of the letter which is appended to this paper, though young in the service of India, was Persian interpreter to the Governor-General, and in that capacity accompanied him on his memorable visit to Benares in 1781 when he so nearly fell a victim to the insurrection which broke out at that city. Mr. Colebrooke's narrative gives no facts that were not recorded at the time, but it describes clearly the circumstances under which the collision occurred, and which at the time of Warren Hastings' trial were a matter of controversy. It also shows how complete was the isolation of the Governor-General in his perilous situation, from which he was only extricated by the independent action of officers in the command of the military stations at Allahabad and Cawnpore.

The Benares adventure was one of the most noticeable episodes in the career of Hastings. His treatment of the Raja formed the subject of the first charge on which he was impeached before the House of Lords, and was that which decided Pitt to abandon the defence of his public acts and vote for his impeachment. Hastings' conduct in regard to this prince has been severely condemned by two great writers whose opinion will long continue to sway the judgment of their countrymen, Mill and Macaulay, the latter of whom describes the transaction as a deliberate act of plunder of an unoffending vassal of the British Government to meet the pressing wants of the State, and in part prompted by feelings of revenge for the conduct of Cheit Sing three years before in making a demonstration in favour of Hastings' enemies in Calcutta at a crisis of his career. This is a harsh and I think unjust judgment,

and in contrast with the impartial estimate of Hastings' character at the close of Macaulay's admirable review of his career. "Those," he says, "who look on his character without favour or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtues—in respect of the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others—he was deficient. *His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But while we cannot with truth describe him as a righteous or merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the State, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either."

In applying this estimate of the character of a great man to individual acts he is led by the love of effect to draw a coloured and distorted picture of several of these transactions, and in none more so than with regard to Benares. That Hastings on this occasion at least proceeded on defensible grounds, and that his treatment of the Raja though severe admits of vindication will appear from a short review of this chapter of Indian history.

When the East India Company first took part in the affairs of Hindustan, they found the Raja of Benares in the enjoyment of a large principality which he held under the Vizier of Oude, to which prince he paid a tribute of some twenty-three lacs of rupees. The family was of recent origin; the province was in the time of Akbar part of the subah of Allahabad, and in the time of Aurunzibe was united to Oude. Mansa Ram, the grandfather, of Cheit Sing, who was dispossessed by Warren Hastings, was the zemindar of a small territory, and promoted to be Amil or Governor of Benares, and having obtained a firman of Raja from Mahommed Shah of Delhi, aspired to take a part in the confusion of the times. His tenure did not differ from that of the other great zemindars of Bengal and Behar. He

exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction, except for capital sentences, in his territory, and maintained a considerable force. During the war of 1764, his son, Bulwant Sing, took part with the English against the Vizier, and rendered such services that an express stipulation was made in his favour in the treaty at the close of the war. This was renewed in 1770 on the death of the then reigning Raja Bulwant Sing, the British Government again stepping forward to compel the Vizier to confirm the succession of Cheit Sing, the son of the late prince, and resisting all attempts on the part of the Vizier to increase the revenue demanded from the zemindary. The connection between the British Government and Cheit Sing was finally established in 1775 by the cession of all the rights of the Vizier to the East India Company. The Raja was now rendered independent of the Nabob; the revenue became payable to the British Government, and the engagements that were drawn up for its payment were not framed, as between states more or less independent, but in the customary form of a pottah or lease to a zemindar with a corresponding agreement on his part.

Thus far all is clear, but in the minutes of Council by which these transactions were ratified, language was employed as to the independence of his authority, and, what was of more importance, the limitation of the demand by the British Government on account of revenue, a point on which the managers of the impeachment afterwards laid the greatest stress in pressing their charge against Hastings, on this article.

According to the managers, the father of Cheit Sing was "a great Lord of the Mogul Empire, dependent on the same through the Vizier of the Empire," and in support of this view they referred to various acts both before and after the cession of the territory to the Company as showing that he was always treated as an independent prince. Any claim that could be founded on his treatment before the cession seems utterly untenable. It is more difficult to

get over the limitations placed on the acts of the British Government at the time of that transaction.

The immediate question before the Government at Calcutta in 1775 was the terms of the treaty with the Nuwab Vizier, and its relations with the Raja of Benares formed a subordinate part of this transaction. The proposal of the Governor-General ran as follows :—

“ 1st. That the treaties of Allahabad and Benares be renewed on the footing on which they stood at the Vizier's death.

“ 2nd. That the perpetual and independent possession of the zemindary of Benares and its dependencies be confirmed and guaranteed to Raja Cheit Sing and his heirs for ever, subject only to the annual payment of the revenue, hitherto paid to the late Vizier, . . . and that no other demand be made upon him either by the Nabob of Oude or this Government, nor any kind of authority or jurisdiction exercised by either within the dominions assigned to him.”

To these articles was appended a memorandum by Warren Hastings that the Raja from the situation of his country might be made a serviceable ally to the Company, and that to ensure this he should be freed totally from the remains of his present vassalage with an assurance that “no encroachment should ever be made on his rights.” *

These resolutions are almost identical with others proposed by Francis at the same meeting of the Council, in

* *Vide Minutes of Evidence on the Trial, 1788, pp. 44-6.*

I have consulted, in preparing this narrative, the copy of the evidence on the trial presented to the London Library by Mr. John Stuart Mill, and used by his father as authorities in writing his history. The letter which accompanied the volumes conveyed the request that there should be written in some conspicuous part of them, the fact that they belonged to the historian of India, both because this gave an historical interest to the books, and also because it identified the pencil notes which are in many of the volumes as being his.

The volume of the evidence adduced by the managers in 1788 is abundantly scored, not by pencil, but by pen-and-ink mark and notes.

The volume of evidence for the defence does not seem to have met with equal attention. The passages underlined or noted in the margin are very few, and confined to one or two pages in a very ponderous volume.

which, among other stipulations, the Raja was to be liable to a fixed fine at every future investiture, and taking the second resolution in connection with the first which is omitted in the articles of impeachment,* it is abundantly evident that the independence to be conferred on the Raja was twofold—complete severance from Oude, and independence of administration—and in no way touched his relations to his new sovereign, except so far as there was a limitation on the pecuniary demands to which he would be in future liable. If any doubt could be entertained with regard to the force of this limitation it is to be found in the instructions conveyed to the British representative at Benares.

These instructions ran as follows: "That under the acknowledged sovereignty of the Company we are determined to leave him the free and uncontrolled management of the internal government of his country and the collection and regulation of the revenues so long as he adheres to the terms of his engagement, and will never demand any augmentation of the annual tribute which may be fixed." †

Hastings' counsel afterwards laid great stress on the latter part of that paragraph as showing, as they contended, that the words substituted in the instructions for those of the resolution of the Council were intended as a qualification of the latter, and they were certainly open to this construction.

* "The articles of charge against Hastings are not framed according to the ordinary rules of jurisprudence. So far from being precise and to the point, they are throughout argumentative, with passages marked with italics, and where quotations are given they are sometimes garbled in a way to alter the sense of the original. The omission of the first of these articles is an instance in point. Another will be given further on in a note to page 297. Hastings complained of this in his defence at the bar of the House of Commons. "It might be expected," he says, "that I should object to the construction of the articles of which the charge is composed; for in truth they are not charges, but histories and comments. They are yet more: they are made up of mutilated quotations, of facts which have no natural relation, but are forced by false arrangement into connection."

† Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 58.

In the view of Hastings, as it was afterwards set forth when his conduct was challenged, the limitation as to the annual rent or tribute could not bar the right of the British Government in its sovereign capacity from making extraordinary demands on extraordinary emergencies. Of this necessity the supreme Government could alone be the judge. These rights from their nature were arbitrary as belonging to a despotic system of government, and the only question that could arise was whether the crisis in our affairs was such as could justify such unusual demands.*

It cannot be denied that there is considerable force in this argument. The sunnud or grant is silent on the subject of military aid. It deals merely with civil administration, and "confirms to Cheit Sing the zemindary Aumeeny and Foujdary of the said Sircar."

The military defence of the province of Oude is provided for in the treaty with the Nabob, under which, in addition to the stipulations for the money payments for the British troops employed, the sovereignty of the districts depending on Cheit Sing are expressly vested in the English Company *for the defence of his country*.

It may be held that under these loose terms the engagement with the Nabob was of the nature of one of those subsidiary treaties, afterwards so common, in which territory was assigned for the payment of British troops, and that the territory of Benares was ceded in lieu of all demands of military protection. This point was not raised by the managers of the impeachment, who were too intent on proving that the Raja was a magnate of the Mogul Empire to enter into such plain questions as the nature and terms of the engagements between the parties. Nor were they raised by the Raja himself when demands were imposed upon him in addition to his stipulated rent or tribute, and in the event of a war in Hindostan it could hardly be

contended that the Raja in his position as zemindar was to be exempt from all demands for mutual defence.*

On this obscure question it is interesting to be able to refer to the opinion of the latest and most impartial of Indian historians. Among the fragments left by Mr. Elphinstone in continuation of his history is a short summary of these events with the modest heading, "Abstracted from Mill and Wilson merely to try my powers of abbreviation." Though the narrative follows that of Mill, the comments which are short are his own, and his remarks on the engagement with Cheit Sing were as follows :—

"This patent contains no engagement to his heirs, and no promise not to raise rents ; but it is fair to assume that the British Government received the cession from the Nabob subject to all the limitations which they themselves imposed on the sovereignty. Such continuity was the view taken by the Government at the time. Its object was to attach the zemindar to the British, and for this purpose Hastings recommended that he should be regarded as a tributary prince, and not interfered with in the interior government of his country : and another member proposed (unsuccessfully) that he should be exempted even from tribute. These discussions were not communicated to Cheit Sing, and there was no exemption from further demands in this patent, but none were made at first, and in the circumstances of the case he had good reason to expect that none would be made."

* Sir John Shore, in his account of the zemindary tenures of Bengal, speaks of their liability to contribute to the general defence of the Government as one of the conditions upon which they held their lands. After tracing the origin of the tenure, he observes, "Formerly their services were required for the defence of the State against rebellion or invasion when they possessed the means of furnishing this assistance. This obligation was chiefly exacted from the powerful zemindars, but was binding on all." See his minute of June, 1789, on the permanent settlement of lands in Bengal in the appendix to the fifth report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1812. In the *Ayin Akbari* the quota of troops for which the different Subahs or provinces were liable are strictly defined. The contribution of the Sircar or Benares, which formed part of the Subah of Allahabad, amounted to 830 cavalry and 8,400 infantry.

At the conclusion of his narrative Mr. Elphinstone expresses himself more doubtfully on this point, and observes that "the want of express limitations prevents one pronouncing with decision that the proceedings against him were unjust in principle."

Here, therefore, this question may be allowed to rest. It was not long before his lax engagement, or understanding (for it amounted to no more), was tested by the important events that followed.

At the end of June, 1778, intelligence reached Calcutta that war with France was imminent, and it was met by the Governor-General with unexampled vigour. Within two days a plan was laid before the Council providing for the whole defence of India. It is assumed in this able minute that the general line of action prescribed for the British Government must be purely defensive. Bengal would be the last object of attack. The presidency of Fort St. George possessed in itself the complete means of defence; nothing could be added to this; but from the effect of our political arrangements Bombay required everything. The last advices from Poona indicated that the French were about to bring a large force to bear on the Mahratta State, in the politics of which the Bombay Government was entangled. It was to be expected also that the French would revive their ancient alliance with the Nizam, and having established a firm interest in Poona, Bombay would be the object of attack.

The defence of Bombay thus became necessary for the security of Bengal, and it was proposed to send a force to traverse the continent to meet the common danger. The motives that would influence the different members of the Mahratta Confederacy are then fully discussed, and reliance is placed (which was justified by the result) on the Raja of Berar siding with the British Government, and assisting in the movements of the British army. The views of Scindia were considered more uncertain, and it was impossible to face the complications which might arise in Hindustan with-

out an increase of force, and the Governor-General followed up a proposal to despatch a civil servant to Berar and negotiate an alliance with its chief by a resolution for the formation of three additional battalions of Sepoys, and by moving, "That Raja Cheit Sing be required in form to contribute his share of the burthen of the present war by consenting to this establishment, to be raised and maintained at his expense."

The Minutes of Council give a very brief summary of the discussion which ensued. The colleagues of Warren Hastings, awed by the sense of impending danger, offered no opposition to this bold proposal. Mr. Francis' speech was of the briefest. "On the supposition," he said, "that the detachment now employed under Colonel Leslie will not return for a length of time, I acquiesce in the proposal relative to Raja Cheit Sing, but I think he should be informed that this additional charge will not be imposed upon him beyond the continuance of the war."

The Governor-General assented to this, and proposed that the qualification should be expressed in a separate clause; but finding that the objections to the proposal went deeper, and were founded on a different understanding of the right of the Company to exact under any pressure of affairs more than the sum stipulated for in the original sunnud or grant, he insisted on a vote being taken on the original motion, "leaving," as he expressed himself, "the decision of future right to our superiors;" and the resolution was passed in the terms of the Governor-General, *nemine contradicente*.* "For once we were unanimous," said Hastings, when referring to the act of the Council in his defence before the House of Commons.†

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 67.

† It is amusing to see the attempts that were afterwards made to relieve Francis from the responsibility of his acquiescence. Fox, in his opening speech on this charge, admitted that Francis had done no more than express a doubt of the justice of the demand; but he added "that he hardly dared to oppose the Governor-General openly, lest he should bring the vengeance of the Governor-General upon the unhappy prince he

The question of good faith which was thus quietly set aside, became the foundation of the impeachment on this article.

The conduct of Francis in this business was discreditable in the extreme. On a subsequent occasion he said, "I never approved of the additional demand beyond his stipulated tribute;" but he recorded no objection either by vote or minute, and when attempts were made by the Raja to evade these demands, he again acquiesced in the steps taken for their enforcement; and yet, when Hastings' conduct was afterwards arraigned, he became one of the foremost of his accusers, and seconded the motion of Fox for his impeachment on this very charge.

Whatever judgment may be formed of the morality of the transaction and of Hastings' consistency, it must be admitted that his conduct in leaving the solution to "his superiors" was marked with his usual sagacity. He knew that if the Raja acquiesced in the demand, and the battalions were formed, his "superiors" would hesitate about refunding so seasonable an aid in a trying juncture. Other Governments besides that of the East India Company entertain as strong objections to paying back as Falstaff himself.* On a former occasion of more questionable morality than the demands on the Raja, the resources that Hastings drew from the Vizier had been acquiesced in without compunction.†

sought to defend"—a very lame excuse. When Hastings' counsel pressed the fact of this consent before the Court, Francis was produced as a witness, very late in the proceedings, to prove that he had signified his disapproval in Council. The answer to this was complete. The evidence produced by the managers had shown that not once, but on repeated occasions he had agreed to Hastings' proposals without reservation, and nothing now alleged could do away with the effect of his acts when a member of the Council. The evidence was rejected. ("History of the Trial," Part vii. p. 83.)

* "I do not like this paying back; it is a double labour."

† "Henry IV.," Part I. act iii. sc. vi.

† In 1772, when Shah Alum fell under the influence of the Mahrattas, and ceded to them the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which had been made over to the king by Clive, Hastings stepped in and put a veto on the

In the case of the Raja of Benares the Directors might well hesitate about rescinding the transaction. The usual opponents to the administration of the Governor-General recorded no minutes, and shrank from expressing any open dissent. On a question affecting the national faith and honour the superior Government had a right to expect that those who dissented should have laid the whole of their reasons before them. Nothing of the kind was done, and the Directors in their despatch acknowledging the resolutions of the Government made no comment on these important acts. Hastings, when put on his trial, appealed to this despatch as giving a tacit assent to the act of the Indian Government.

The demand of this special subsidy was made on the Raja and met with pleas of poverty and appeals for delay,

transaction. To hand over these important provinces to so dangerous a power was an unfriendly act, and gave the British Government a claim of interference as the Power from which the original cession had been derived. This strong act was turned to the advantage of the East India Company, by the assignment of these provinces, which lay beyond the military line of defence of their possessions, to the Vizier of Oude, in consideration of the payment of fifty lacs. The transaction could not be condemned without weighing the magnitude of the danger incurred by the act of the king; but the justice of the proceeding was afterwards impugned, and defended on grounds of equity and general policy. To his superiors Hastings had another and powerful argument in store, and in a letter which he addressed to Sir G. Colebrooke, who had recently retired from the chair of the Court of Directors, the original of which is in my possession, he conveyed a message that if they disavowed his acts they must take the consequences.

"If the Court of Directors shall think it proper to disclaim what I have done, they must also point out the means of undoing it. They must cancel the treaty (which God forbid!); they must repay what they have received from the Vizier, and relinquish their claims to the rest; they must discharge the arrears of the tribute, and punctually pay the future yearly demands of twenty-six lacs to the king. But from what fund these great things are to be done I am sure they will be unable to direct. In a word, I have been happily furnished with an accidental concurrence of circumstances to relieve the Company in the distress of their affairs, by means which, in my judgment, the most partial advocate of the king cannot on their own principles disapprove, but which on mine were never wanting: as I conceive, in strict political justice, the king never had a right to a rupee from Bengal, nor from Cora, after he had parted from it." (Gleig's *Life of Hastings*, i. 355.)

which the Governor-General treated as evasive, and prompted by expectation of a change of Government. Francis, though expressing a misgiving as to the justice of the original demand, acquiesced in the necessity of supporting the authority of the Company. His doubts are not expressed in strong terms. "I did from the first express a doubt whether we had strictly a right to increase our demands upon the Raja beyond the terms on which we originally agreed to give, to which he consented to, and which as I have constantly understood were made the fundamental tenure by which he held his zemindary." This preamble was followed by a proposal that he should pay the money by instalments.*

The letter which the Governor-General now addressed to Cheit Sing was brief and business-like. War having been declared between Great Britain and France, he called on the Raja as a subject of the Company to contribute his share to the burden, and this was fixed at the rate of five lacs of rupees, the equivalent of three battalions of Sepoys. The Raja acquiesced, but made no payment. Two months later the Resident at Benares reported that the Raja declared his utter inability to pay the amount at once, but tendered payment of fifty thousand rupees, or one tenth of the whole, and offered to pay the contribution by monthly instalments. The Raja followed this up by a letter addressed to the Governor-General in which he proposed to make the payment required in six or seven months.

This attempt at procrastination was resented by the Governor-General, who on laying the matter before the Board treated it as an attempt to gain time in expectation of despatches from England bringing orders for a complete change of Government. The conduct of the Raja admitted a worse construction; but, in obedience to a renewed and peremptory demand by the Government, the whole sum was paid down, and the affair was closed for the time.

In the following year the demand was renewed and

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 76.

met with the same plea of inability, the Raja contending at the same time that the former payment was made on the condition that he should not be called upon to make any future payment. The Governor-General took up the matter with a high hand, and moved the Council that the commander-in-chief be desired to issue an order for the march of two battalions to Benares. The troops were ordered to march, and the money was paid, and a fine of £2000 inflicted for the expense of the troops.

The same story was repeated in the following year, but it was diversified by an incident of a questionable nature. The financial state of the Company's treasury was now deplorable. A subsidy that had been hitherto paid by the Rana of Gohud had ceased, and the Government proposed to meet the military wants of the state by anticipating the demand of the Raja by one month. It was met with his usual procrastination, and after an interval of some months the Raja sent a special envoy to Calcutta to propitiate the Governor-General with an offer of two lacs of rupees. This was in the first instance refused, but afterwards accepted, and paid into the Company's treasury and reported to the Court of Directors in the following mail. The knowledge of the receipt was withheld from his colleagues, and the source from which the money was derived was not explained to the Government at home till afterwards. This gave ground for the accusation that it was a corrupt transaction, and was entered as such in the 8th article of impeachment. 'Corrupt it could not have been, for payment was made to the public treasury, and the source could not have been concealed, and there seems no reason to reject the explanation which he gave in his reply to the charge, that it was intended to be applied to an expedition against Scindia, but that measure being opposed by Council it was reserved for some future emergency, as was ultimately the case.*

The party who had a right to complain was the Raja,

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 96.

whose money was accepted, but not brought to account in payment of a Government demand. On the contrary, this last was pressed with renewed force and again discharged, but not until the month of October following, and after troops were marched into the Raja's territory to enforce the demand. A further sum of £10,000 was imposed on him as a fine for the delay. This was not all. The year 1780 did not close without a new requisition being made to furnish to the service of the Government a force of cavalry.

These demands stated thus nakedly appear harsh and arbitrary, and the managers of the impeachment founded upon them the charge of a settled design on the part of Hastings to ruin the Raja. Such was the heading of the article of impeachment relating to this transaction, and in the 9th paragraph it set forth that "these violent and insulting measures failing to provoke the Raja, and he having paid up the whole demand, the said Warren Hastings, being resolved to drive him to extremities, did make on the Raja a sudden demand over and above the ordinary tribute or subsidy and over and above the £50,000 extraordinary to provide a body of cavalry for the service of the Bengal Government."

This severe charge is endorsed by Macaulay, who in furtherance of his argument that Hastings acted from the beginning on a settled design to ruin the Raja observes: "Hastings was determined to plunder Cheit Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly, the Raja was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British Government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal."

The answer to this is a very simple one. The demand of a subsidy of £50,000 in successive years to meet the cost of a formidable war was a very moderate one. That the Raja held his zemindary on easy terms is proved by

the fact that the rent was raised to forty lacs on the accession of his relation in the following year.*

His evasions were acts of contumacy that would have been resented by any Government in the world. In all the steps taken to enforce these demands Hastings had the support of his Council; even Francis himself never ventured to do more than express a doubt as to the justice of the demand, and never recorded a dissent. Moreover, the requisition for the cavalry did not originate with Hastings. It was made at the suggestion of Sir Eyre Coote as part of the defence of Bengal, in the form of a request to furnish such cavalry as the Raja could spare for the service of the Government, with an intimation that they would be required no longer than the war should last.

And what were the circumstances under which this extraordinary demand was made? Never were the possessions of the Company in such peril. In 1780, Hyder Ali, indignant at the violation of his territory by the Madras Government, declared war, and poured his hordes into the Carnatic, defeated one British army, and drove the other from the field, and was in possession of the whole of the open country.

Intelligence of these disasters reached Calcutta very rapidly, and the urgent demands of the Madras Government for supplies of men and money were promptly met by the Governor-General.

In a brief minute he laid before the Council the necessity

* The treasure found in the fort of Bedjehur, the capture of which closed the campaign, amounted to upwards of twenty-three lacs, or more than a year's income payable by Cheit Sing. This, Mill observes, was no more than what a prudent prince would have thought it always necessary to keep in hand towards the current expenses of his Government. The possession of this treasure, however, disposes of the plea of poverty which the Raja constantly alleged. The payments to the British Government were made monthly, and no large sum was required to be kept in hand for this purpose. Besides, Cheit Sing in his flight was supposed to have carried off large sums in gold and silver in addition to jewels. This was the allegation of Hastings in his published defence, and it seems very probable.

of immediate and hazardous exertions to avert the danger, and proposed four resolutions :—

1. "The remittance of fifteen lacs to Fort St. George.
2. "Despatch of a large force of European infantry and artillery.
3. "An urgent request to Sir E. Coote to proceed at once to the coast and take the command.
4. "An immediate offer of peace to be made to the Mahrattas on certain conditions."

Francis, as usual, recorded his dissent, but not his vote. In his view, neither money nor troops could be spared from the defence of Bengal, and Madras was to be left to its fate. However, the opinion of the Governor-General prevailed, and the succour was afforded which saved that Presidency from its threatened destruction.

The decision of the Council was quickened by the receipt of a despatch from Sir Edward Hughes, the admiral in command of the fleet in the Indian seas, conveying the intelligence he had received from the Court of Directors that seven ships had sailed from France with seven thousand regular troops, supposed to be destined against Bombay, and warning the Government of Bengal that the army of Hyder Ali was not the only enemy they had to contend with in the Deccan, and that, in his opinion, a plan of operations was arranged between that chief and the French. This prophecy was fulfilled literally in the following year, when the British possessions on the Coromandel coast were again brought to the verge of ruin by this anticipated combination.

The presence of a Mahratta force on the confines of Cuttack was another source of danger. In successive minutes Sir Eyre Coote described the steps to be taken for the defence of Bengal, and guard against the incursions of the Mahrattas. For this purpose he proposed to complete two regiments of infantry. The Vizier was recommended to keep up a respectable body of horse, and a hope was expressed that a thousand horse would be procured from the Raja of Benares.

The great difficulty which the Government experienced at this time was the want of funds to put their forces in motion. From Bombay and from Central India the same reports poured into Calcutta, of the distress of the troops and the want of funds, which are all recorded in the minutes of evidence in the trial. A loan was opened in Calcutta; but the credit of the Government of the Presidency was low, while that of Madras was nil.

It is to be remembered that at this time, there was no distinction between the territorial and commercial liabilities of the Government. There was a bonded debt; but it could not be increased without trespassing on the fund out of which the Company's annual dividend was paid, and the first duty imposed on the Governor-General was to raise the means of carrying on the war from the supplies of the year.

It was under these circumstances that the application was made to the Raja to place some of his cavalry under the orders of British officers. The terms in which the Governor-General addressed the Raja were drawn up by the Council, in words calculated to remove any suspicion that the demand would be treated as a precedent for future demands. He was asked, "to furnish that part of cavalry entertained in his service as he could spare for the service of this Government, and to inform them what numbers he can supply," and to this was added an assurance that "the forces would be required no longer than the war lasted." The letter was addressed to him at the beginning of December, and in the meantime his other revenue payments became slack. After being frequently pressed by the Resident, it was reported to the Government in the middle of January, that the Raja was unable to detach more than two hundred and fifty horsemen, the remainder of his troops being required for the collection of his revenue. The indignation of the Governor-General now knew no bounds. The Raja was known to have an expensive standing force, and his cavalry was estimated at two

thousand.* To withhold the aid which was so urgently needed was, in the view of Hastings, not an act of contumacy only, but of disaffection.

Among other signs of wavering allegiance, if not actual hostility, which were now enumerated, Hastings brought forward an old grievance. When the intestine discord in the Government of Calcutta was at its height in 1777, and a change of Government was expected, the time-serving Raja was so imprudent as to depute an agent to Hastings' rivals in the Government. The agent had not proceeded further than Moorshedabad when there was a change of affairs, and he was then recalled.

In referring to this incident Hastings weakened his own case, which was so strong as to be independent of these personal matters. If they gave colour to the charge that he was actuated by personal feeling against the Raja, they at least illustrated the shifty character of Benares politics. The Raja had not energy to plot against the British Government. He was a weak trimming creature, who saw that the superior Government was in difficulty and endeavoured to stand aloof and watch the times.† After enumerating the benefits conferred on the family by their alliance with the British Government, and the shabby return during our difficulties, Hastings concluded, "I consider Cheit Sing as

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 97, and 1792, p. 1534.

† This was the inference drawn by two successive Residents at Benares from his conduct during the war. Mr. Graham wrote in 1779 that his advisers "encourage him in thoughts incompatible with his duty to the Government, such as advising him to entertain more troops, put his forts in a position of defence, and to obey no orders unless immediately agreeable to the terms of his engagement." To these advisers were attributed the boast that with his riches he can carry fire and sword to Calcutta (Evidence of 1792, p. 1605).

Mr. Markham, who succeeded Mr. Graham, wrote in March, 1781: "The Raja has had intelligence from Calcutta that the Mahrattas have entered our provinces, and he now talks among his favourites, as I have good intelligence, of delaying the supply of cavalry until he can be certain whom fortune will favour in the war. However ridiculous this notion is he has adopted it, and if any serious accident happens to our army, he has told his minions he will declare independence."

culpable in a very high degree towards our state, and his punishment of which I had given him frequent warnings if he did not amend his conduct, as an example which justice and policy required equally for the reparation of the wrongs which its dignity had sustained and for the future preservation of its authority."

The Raja was now thoroughly alarmed, and made tenders of horse and foot, which if offered cordially at first would have avoided the ruin which followed.

About the same time he is said to have made an offer of two hundred thousand pounds to avert the displeasure of the Governor-General, and its rejection was made a matter of charge in one of the articles of impeachment. That such a tender was made is shown by a deposition of Major Palmer, an officer in Hastings' own confidence, who mentions this and some other matters as having passed in conversation with the Governor-General previous to his departure from Calcutta. It was then mentioned that such an offer had been made "though indirectly," words that are omitted in the extract of the deposition quoted in the article of impeachment.* Fox in his opening speech on

* There is a discrepancy between the wording of Major Palmer's affidavit and the quotation from it in the article of impeachment which gives a different colour to the transaction. The words in the article run as follows: "That the said Warren Hastings had told him the said Palmer, that he the said Hastings had rejected the offer of two hundred thousand pounds made by the Raja of Benares for the public service, and that he was resolved to *convert the faults committed by the Raja into a public benefit*, and would exact the sum of £500,000 as a punishment for his breach of engagement." In the original document Major Palmer merely says, "that an offer from the Raja, but indirectly, had been made to him (Hastings) of twenty lacs of rupees for the public service as a retribution for the failure of his engagements, but that the Governor-General was resolved to insist upon the first-mentioned sum of fifty lacs." The words which I have quoted as italicised in the article of impeachment, appear in a different part of the affidavit.

Mill in his account of this part of the story has improved on this. He says, "The Raja was informed of the hostile designs which were entertained against him, and in order to mitigate the fury of the storm, sent an offer to the Governor-General of twenty lacs of rupees for the public service. The offer was scornfully rejected. A sum of not less than fifty lacs was the peremptory demand." The word "rejected" does not appear in

this article refers to this part of the charge in terms which show that he did not attach great importance to it, for he only says, "there was reason to believe" that the Raja was willing to make this payment. It was evidently an informal overture put forward with a view of sounding the disposition of the Governor-General. The amount was no more than the same prince had paid to the Vizier on his accession to the zemindary. If it is to be regarded as a serious proposal, it contrasts with the professions of extreme poverty put forward to avert the previous demands, and served only to encourage the Governor-General in pressing for a higher penalty.

In December, 1780, Francis left Calcutta in undisputed possession of a Governor whom he had for six long years pertinaciously opposed, and Hastings resolved to turn to account the authority now in his hands. His first act was to press with vigour the expedition against Scindia's possessions in Hindustan, in which measure he had been thwarted by his former colleague, and to this great object the two lacs which he had received from Cheit Sing were applied. The attack on Scindia was intended as a diversion to the war which was carried on against the Mahrattas in the south, and was ultimately successful. The state of the finances continued to be most alarming. Some relief was afforded by the loan which was opened, and in November Rs. 64,44,601 had been realized, but the stock was much depreciated, and so great was the pressure of the demands on behalf of the other Presidencies and to maintain the armies in the field that he saw no prospect of providing the

Major Palmer's affidavit, and as for the "demand" it only existed in the mind of the Governor-General. It was never made, as the negotiation was closed by the massacre of the guard. That Hastings entertained such views only appears from his own narrative. Anticipating that his motives would be impugned, he appealed to Mr. Wheeler, his colleague, as to his instructions regarding Cheit Sing, and that gentleman's name appears in Hastings' narrative. It is supported by Major Palmer's affidavit, taken by Sir Elijah Impey, and by the narrative of another gentleman in Hastings' confidence, who reports his conversation with the Governor-General prior to his departure from Calcutta.

annual investment on which the very existence of the Company determined. "I know," he said to a correspondent in England, "the personal consequence to which I shall expose myself by so general a disappointment, but I am without a remedy" (Gleig, II. 335). A month later he communicated to the Court of Directors the unpleasant intelligence of the probable suspension of the investment for the ensuing year. "No option," he informed them, "will be left to us, but either to sacrifice the temporary profits of the Company, or to hazard for ever the existence of all their projects for the sake of retaining them." *

It was in this almost bankrupt state of the treasury that Hastings decided on his expedition to Benares. That which mainly engaged his attention was the State of Oude. The Vizier was largely in arrear both in the pledged payments on account of the cession of Corah and in his annual subsidy, and the country itself was in such confusion that the Governor-General was urgently solicited to interfere in its affairs by the Nabob himself. This expedition is thus connected with the two transactions on which the managers of the impeachment mainly relied on the trial—the treatment of Cheit Sing and of the Begum Princesses of Oude. In both of these cases Hastings' own language laid him open to the charge that the severe penalties he exacted were measured rather by the wants of the State than the guilt of the offending parties. It is well known that it was on this ground that Pitt abandoned his defence of Hastings. "Admitting," he says, "the supposed guilt of the Raja in delaying to pay an additional tribute demanded of him, punishment was utterly disproportionate and manifestly exorbitant."

In a similar spirit Mr. Elphinstone concludes his brief narrative with the following verdict on the whole transaction :

"Cheit Sing lived long after, and ended his days in exile, an object of much more of compassion than blame. The undefined character of the

* Evidence, 1792, p. 1590.

rights of Indian Governments over this class of their subjects; and the want of express limitations in the patent to Cheit Sing, prevent our pronouncing with decision that the proceedings against him were unjust in principle, but the mode of enforcing such questionable claims was harsh; the increased demand in the fourth year was unreasonable in itself and alarming for the future, and the rejection of all offers of submission towards the end turns the scale beyond all question against the Government."

In justice to Hastings, it must be admitted that the Raja, by his acts, had laid himself open to the strongest suspicion. In the mind of the Governor-General his acts were regarded as "evidence of a deliberate and systematic conduct aiming at the total subversion of the authority of the Company, and the erection of his own independency on its ruins." It is true that no overt acts of hostility had been proved against him, but the Governor-General had seen movements of our troops paralyzed by the absence of the supplies on which he had counted, and the evasion of the request for the aid of his cavalry for the defence of Bengal was that which excited his highest resentment. At that time he wrote :

"We stood in need of every aid that could be devised to repel the multiplied dangers that surrounded us. The Raja was supposed to maintain a very large and expensive force, and the strength of his cavalry was estimated at two thousand. I had formerly experienced their utility in the war with the Sunyassees, in which they were successfully employed and liberally rewarded. The demand was formally made, both in a letter from myself and in person by the Resident, Mr. Fowke, in the easy and indefinite terms mentioned above. His answer was evasive. At length a more peremptory order was sent to him, and repeated by the present Resident, Mr. Markham. The number required was 2,000, and afterwards reduced to the demand of 1,500, and lastly to 1,000, but with no more success. He offered 250, but furnished none."—"Hastings' Narrative," p. 6.

There remains a further question, but that is connected with the criminal proceedings to which Hastings' conduct afterwards gave rise. Did his treatment of Cheit Sing, severe as it was, deserve impeachment? And here I am glad to find myself in complete accord with Macaulay in his comments on Pitt's conduct, who, after acquitting Hastings on the Rohilla charge, softened down the Benares

charge till it became no charge at all, and then pronounced that it contained matter of impeachment. Hastings had rendered great services to his country, and if on this occasion he pressed on an offending vassal an excessive penalty, not for any private end, but for the service of the State in a trying emergency, this was not an occasion that called for proceedings at the bar of the House of Lords.

I limit my concurrence with Macaulay to his strictures on the acts of Pitt, for when he proceeds to detail with apparent approval the motives of personal jealousy that were attributed to Pitt at the time, the suggestion is as extravagant as those which he has attributed to Hastings himself in his treatment of the Raja.

The concluding chapter of the story may be briefly told. On his progress to Benares, the Governor-General was met at the frontier by the Raja, with a large military retinue; so large as to satisfy any impartial person that it was not from want of means that he had failed to provide the military aid required of him.* His professions of submission were of the most humble kind, and accompanied by the action of laying his turban on the lap of the Governor-General; an act which the latter described as "either strongly expressive of the agitation of his mind, or his desire to impress on mine a conviction of his sincerity." These overtures were haughtily rejected, and the Governor-General proceeded to Benares, where his first act was to send to the Raja a paper recapitulating the various occasions on which he had withheld payment of the aid demanded of him, and the shifts and pretexts by which he avoided the performance until the British force for whom they were intended were reduced to the greatest distress. Some charges are rather hinted at than made at the conclusion of the letter, to the effect that he had endeavoured to excite disorder against the British Government. Suspicions had been previously entertained by the Governor-General that Cheit Sing had

* Mr. Markham, who was present, said that the force which accompanied him amounted to 3,000 or 4,000 men.—Evidence, 1792, p. 1756.

corresponded with the Mahrattas, but of this not a shadow of proof was ever produced, and the charge against Cheit Sing rests on the consideration, 'Did he, or did he not, stand aloof in the hour of danger, and withhold the very moderate demands that were made on him?'

Hastings evidently contemplated no more than exacting a heavy fine. That he ever thought of provoking him to resistance is disproved by the fact that he proceeded to the capital of the province with so slender an escort. There is no record of his intention beyond his verbal communication with his only colleague Mr. Wheeler and others on his staff to whom he mentioned his plans. The sum that he intended to exact was forty or fifty lacs, a very large sum, but not more than it was supposed to be within the Raja's power to pay.

The Raja's reply was humble, but argumentative. He had complied with all demands, and if the remittances had not reached the army, that was not his fault, and he was quite ready to supply the horse. The Governor-General had apparently anticipated a renewal of the offer of payment made through some indirect channel before his departure from Calcutta, and this reply, which re-opened the whole question, was treated by him as a high offence, and Mr. Markham, the Resident at Benares, was instructed to proceed to the Raja and place him in arrest, and keep him in custody until further orders. Two companies of Sepoys were instructed to accompany Mr. Markham, and assist in the execution of this service.

The Raja was now thoroughly cowed, and made offers of abject submission, and if matters had not passed beyond the control of both parties, the policy of the Governor-General promised to be attended with complete success; and this is the view of Mr. Elphinstone.

"This proceeding was certainly a harsh and arbitrary measure, but it is not certain that it was impolitic. Cheit Sing had made a considerable addition to his military establishment. Hastings had but a slender escort, and had no army within reach or disposable. The aspect of British

affairs in all quarters had led to combinations against the Government, and Cheit Sing himself was suspected of disaffection. Hastings therefore judged that a vigorous and unhesitating course was the most likely to be attended with success. In all probability it would have proved so had it not been for one of those uncontrollable accidents which are apt to attend violent measures, and which are among the strongest objections to them.

If the Raja was prepared to submit himself to the Governor's pleasure his followers were not. Reports reached the Governor-General of the gathering of men around the house where the Raja was confined. It suited the object of the managers of the impeachment to describe this as a popular insurrection, and Macaulay accepts this view, commenting, at the same time, on the want of judgment shown by Hastings in taking these strong measures supported by so small a force, "unequal," as he describes it, "to a conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares;" and in support of this view, he has recourse to the extravagant supposition that Warren Hastings, of all men, had passed thirty years in India without being aware of the difference between the character of the Bengalee and the manly inhabitants of Hindostan.

In the view of the Governor-General the outbreak was the act of the armed followers of the Raja, who were seen to pass the river in considerable numbers; and this is supported by the fact that the attack on the Sepoys was in the first instance made by the matchlock men, who must have been part of the troops of the prince. In all probability there was a mixture of both elements in the fight, and on this I may again cite the view of Mr. Elphinstone: "The troops immediately in attendance on the Raja amounted to two thousand, amply sufficient to overwhelm two such weak detachments rendered so helpless by their situation; but it is not unlikely that the military part of the population joined their efforts against foreigners of another religion, who showed the will without the power to imprison their chief, and whose presence would disturb their abodes and pollute their holy places."

However this may be, the attack was entirely undesigned, and the troops having been sent on this service without ball cartridge, the massacre was sudden and complete. Lieutenant Stalker, who was in command, alarmed at the menacing appearance of the armed multitude, sent a message asking for ammunition and reinforcements, but before they could arrive the streets were thronged with armed men, and ere they could force their way to the house all was over. The Governor-General had in the meantime desired Mr. Markham to warn the Raja that he would be held responsible for the consequences of any collision.

For the remainder of the story I refer the reader to the narrative which follows, and only interpose one remark. That the collision was provoked by the insolence of the native messenger was the allegation of the Raja, and, as this was never denied by Hastings, it was entered by the managers in the articles of impeachment on this charge. Attempts were made to throw doubt on this statement by the counsel of Hastings on the trial, and much argument was wasted on both sides on a point of secondary importance.

It stands on record in the evidence which was adduced on the trial in Westminster Hall, and which formed part of the depositions taken by Sir Elijah Impey, that two survivors of the struggle—a jemadar, or native officer, and Sepoy orderly to Lieutenant Stalker—witnessed the interview. The former deposed that the Chobdar appeared, by his manner and the loudness of his voice, to be speaking insultingly and passionately to the Raja. The Sepoy, who was within hearing, reported the words that were uttered, and they were very offensive.* In truth, Hastings himself never disputed the fact. In a letter to Major Scott, reporting this occurrence, he says, "You will observe in the Raja's letter repeated allusion to the insolent language of a Chobdar of Markham's. I have no doubt of the fellow's insolence, but I have taken no notice of it in

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, pp. 248, 251.

my narrative, because it had no necessary relation to it. The Chobdar did not arrive at Shewalla till the tumult had almost begun."

It was an act of indiscretion on the part of Mr. Markham to have employed such a messenger, but there is no reason to suppose that it was done with Hastings' sanction. On the contrary, Mr. Markham's evidence went to show that the Governor-General, on receiving the report of the Raja's tender of submission, dictated a paper announcing the terms on which the former relations with the British Government should be restored; and they included the payment of a heavy fine and some other stipulations. So important a message required careful translation, and Markham was advised to take Mr. Anderson with him.*

EDWARD COLEBROOKE,

BENARIS, *October 24, 1781.*

MOST HONOURED SIR,—You may perhaps expect a full narration of the accident in this place of which I was so close a spectator, and in which I had very nearly been an unfortunate actor. But as I send this letter to Calcutta for it to take its chance of the first dispatch, I shall delay the long account which I mean to transmit you till my return to Calcutta about the latter end of the year. I am now at this place in the Governor-General's train, and have been here and in the neighbourhood ever since the 14th of August. Having almost settled this part of the country, we shall soon move upwards to visit Lucknow and Furruckabad. It is now five months since I left Calcutta, four weeks of which time were passed in a most disagreeable suspense, for after the massacre of three officers and two hundred Grenadier Sepoys in Benaris, on the 16th of August, the destruction of two officers, twenty-five Europeans, and one hundred and fifty Sepoys at Ramnagar with the total rout of the army, on the 20th the Governor-General's retreat from Benaris to Chunarghar, on the 21st at night, he, with about thirty-six gentlemen, were penned up in that place till the 10th of September, when a detachment of one hundred Europeans, two thousand Sepoys, and a large train of artillery joined us from Cawnpore.

The two first days after our arrival at Benaris, on the 14th of August, having been passed in making known the causes of complaint to the Raja and receiving his answers, on the 16th of August, in consequence of the evasions observed in those answers, Mr. Markham, the Resident, was

* Minutes of Evidence, 1792, p. 1756.

ordered to put the Raja under arrest, and the two Grenadier companies of Major Popham's regiment under Lieutenants Scott and Symes, with part of the Resident's Guard, commanded by Lieutenant Stalker, were sent to take charge of him. Having executed his orders at Shewalla, a small house in Benaris, about three miles from the gardens where the Governor-General resided, Mr. Markham returned about nine o'clock, and at eleven a letter was received from Lieutenant Stalker, who had the command of the whole party, giving intelligence that a number of armed persons had assembled near the house where the Raja was confined, and desiring ammunition might be sent as the Sepoys had not even one ball-cartridge. What the reason was for sending the troops on this service without powder and ball has never been publicly explained, it does not therefore become me to form any surmises or draw any conclusions from premises imagined by myself. I will, therefore, go on with the plain narration of facts which are within the compass of every man's judgment, and in which no mistake can be made.

Orders were immediately sent to Major Popham's camp near three miles from Benaris for another company of Sepoys to march with ammunition for the Grenadiers. A little after one a letter arrived from Lieutenant Birrell, who commanded this company, acquainting Major Popham with his arrival at the Raja's house, and requesting his orders, as about three thousand men opposed his entrance. On the receipt of this, Major Popham directed him to force his way into the house at all events, and he himself immediately went to camp in order to march his remaining three companies with their two guns to the support of the two first parties. At the same time that Major Popham left Benaris for camp, Mr. Markham was ordered by the Governor-General to go to the Raja and inform him that his life should be forfeited in case one man of ours was hurt. Mr. Markham, not understanding much of the Hindostanny language, requested to decline explaining such a message himself, and desired that the Persian interpreter might be sent with him. I was accordingly called, but could not be found; they next enquired for Lieutenant Anderson, one of the Governor-General's aide-de-camps, and a capital linguister. Providentially we had both gone together to visit the wonders of the town, and did not return till two o'clock, just in time for dinner. Mr. Markham, not being able to procure either of us, declined going, and sent one of his black servants called a Chobdar,* to threaten the Raja with death in case of opposition. *Hinc illæ Lacrimæ*, hence all the subsequent confusion, the servant delivered the message in a most insolent tone, and even gave the Raja personal abuse. On hearing this, Monyar Sing, one of the Raja's relations, cut the man down with his broad-sword, and Lieutenant Stalker, who had instantly drawn his small sword to punish Monyar Sing's presumption, was cut through the head by a man who jumped down from behind him from the top of the wall. The rabble collected on the outside, seeing European blood spilt, knew no longer any bounds to their fury; they appeared on the tops of the walls, and fired on the

* A staff or mace bearer, an attendant on persons of rank.

Sepoys below, who, being unable to reach the enemies with their bayonets, and having no ball cartridge, broke their ranks as soon as they saw their officers on the ground. In the meantime two or three hundred men came in from a garden from the westward, where they had been concealed the night before, and with their broad-swords completed the destruction which the matchlock men on the walls had begun. During this confusion the Raja escaped to the water-side and crossed the river to Ramnagar, which is a large fortified palace about three miles above the west extremity of the town of Benaris. All this business was so speedily effected that, though it only commenced when Lieutenant Birrell began to force his way through the narrow lane which leads to the door of the outward court, yet before ten minutes had elapsed, upon his entering the place he found no one except the dead and wounded Sepoys. The enemy had not only carried off their own killed and wounded, if any there were, but had also taken the arms and accoutrements of all the Sepoys except about twenty. Of two hundred Grenadiers and fifty of the Resident's Guard, with all their European and native officers, only fifteen remained unhurt, and ninety-one had signs of life, but these last were so shockingly mangled that little hope was entertained of their recovery. Not one of the three gentlemen had fewer than twenty wounds. Such a sight is easier conceived than described, so that, although I myself visited the field of battle soon after the affray, I shall not attempt to express the horrors with which it filled me. Major Popham arrived there about three, and immediately leaving one company with Lieutenant Malcolm to bring off the wounded and bury the dead, marched to the house where the Governor-General resided, which we fortified in the best manner we could, expecting an attack that night.

On the first news of the firing at Shewalla, orders had been sent to Chunar for one battalion of Major White's regiment, which was doing duty in that garrison to march down to Ramnagar. Chunar is a strong fort upon a high rocky hill on the south side of the Ganges, about eighteen miles to the westward of Benaris, and is one of the largest military magazines in the country. Captain Blair with the battalion accordingly moved on the 17th, and remained encamped in sight of Ramnagar, at three miles distance to the westward of it till the 19th, when he was joined by Captain Mayaffre, of the artillery, who had with him eighty French European Rangers.

The remaining four companies of the first battalion of Major Popham's regiment, two three-pounders, one 8-inch mortar and a small howitzer—these troops had been left cantoned at Mirzapore, near forty miles to the westward from Benaris and twenty from Chunar—were ordered to the attack of Ramnagar, at the same time that Captain Blair had marched from Chunar. On the 20th, in the morning, Captain Mayaffre directed that the place should be stormed. Captain Doxat at the head of the Rangers with one three-pounder formed the advanced party, supported by Captain Blair's battalion. The four companies of Major Popham's regiment, commanded by Captain Sparkes, remained in the outside of the town to assist in case of necessity; they advanced in this order for some time till, upon turning the corner of a street in the outward town, they were stopped by a most furious discharge of musketry from the tops of

the houses and from behind the walls. Captain Doxat, with a sergeant and two corporals, and twenty-one of his men being presently killed; and about one hundred and fifty of Captain Blair's battalion, besides a considerable number wounded, Mayaffre ordered the rest to retreat; he himself fell soon after, and the troops, with the utmost expedition, joined Captain Sparkes, who immediately took the command and effected a retreat to Chunar.

While this event was happening on the opposite side of the river our party in Benaris remained in the greatest anxiety. We had heard firing all day, but could receive no intelligence, as the enemy was master of the river. At last, about seven in the evening, we had such incontrovertible proofs from a wounded Sepoy that we could no longer doubt of the fate of the detachment, and of its retreat to Chunar. Orders were immediately despatched thither for the 2nd battalion of Major White's regiment to cross over and march to us at Benaris, as we expected that the enemy, having nothing further to apprehend on the south side of the river, might come over and attack us. This they made every preparation to do on the next day, and collected at Ramnagur all the boats they could seize on both sides of the river. Upon these they embarked their guns, and were beginning to embark themselves, when the Governor-General and the field officers unanimously determined to retreat to Chunar without waiting for the arrival of the battalion ordered from thence, of which we had not received the smallest intelligence, and which, if it had marched, we should most probably meet on the road. This resolution was no sooner taken than executed, and at eight in the evening of the 21st August, we left Benares in the following order—Captain Hogan with about one hundred and sixty Sepoys, being the remains of the Resident's Guard and of a company of Grenadiers which had accompanied us from Buxar as a defence for our boats, and had been nearly destroyed by persons who went to plunder those boats, formed the advance guard; these were followed by the Governor-General and all the gentlemen, some on foot, some on horseback and the rest in palankeens. Behind them marched Captain Hamilton with his four battalion companies which were rather incomplete, as seventy men had been drafted out of them to compose a new Grenadier company in the room of the one destroyed on the 16th. Next came two six-pounders, and with each a Lieutenant fireworker, an European serjeant, and a few black artillery men. The rear guard was composed of the new Grenadier company commanded by Lieutenant Birrell, by whose side I rode almost all the way. The baggage followed, preceded, or went on the flanks, according as the troops went slower or faster. The resolution of retreating was taken so suddenly and kept so secret till the instant of departure, that of the gentlemen who arrived at Chunar, not one had been able to secure more than six shirts of his whole property; Mr. Barnett, a Jew merchant of Benaris, being equally unable to carry away his effects and to determine upon leaving them to the mercy of the enemy, did not accompany us, and after remaining concealed twelve days in the town was discovered, and sent prisoner to the Raja, by whose orders he was kept in close confinement till the 25th September; he was then released, and the next day joined us at Chunar. In the above order we arrived safe about sunrise of the 22nd of August opposite to Chunar, and were immediately crossed over. The

same day, in the evening, arrived Captain Macdougall with the battalion which had marched the day before from Chunar to Benares and who, having taken a different road from the one by which we came, did not hear of our having left Benares till when he was within two miles of it; this intelligence made them immediately return, and being crossed over as soon as they arrived, they were sent back into the garrison at Chunar.

"Our whole force now connected there consisted of about fifty French Europeans and eighteen hundred Sepoys (exclusive of invalids), being the whole effective strength of two regiments of two battalions, each commanded by Majors White and Popham. Two miles to the south-east of the fort was formed a camp under the command of Major Popham, consisting of three battalions of Sepoys containing about 350 men each, viz., the 1st battalion of White's and the two battalions of Popham's. The former had left 150 men at Ramnagar, and the Grenadier Company of each of the other two had been totally destroyed at Benares; to these were added the Europeans with four six-pounders, one mortar, and two howitzers, for which there were neither draft cattle or artillerymen. About one mile east of the fort was a picket of a company under a subaltern from the second battalion of White's, and one and a half miles to the westward of the fort was another picket of about 120 young Sepoys who had never fired a gun, and hardly knew the use of it, and who had been all raised in the town of Benares, and could not therefore but be attached to the cause of the rebellious Raja. Indeed, both battalions of Major White's regiment were in the exact same situation. In this left picket I served as subaltern to Captain Hogan, who commanded it. The whole north side was defended by the river Ganges, on the opposite thereof which under protection of the fort guns were encamped 370 Sepoys belonging to the Nawab Vizier's body-guard, who arrived under Lieutenant Polhill from Allahabad four or five days after our retreat to Chunar. The fort itself was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, and was garrisoned by about fifty European invalids without legs and arms, two or three hundred Sepoys in the same case, and the second battalion of White's regiment, in number about 250, being part of those men whom I mentioned to have been lately raised in Benares, and who had been twice drafted to supply the said battalion.

Such was the army with which we were to defend ourselves against a whole province in rebellion till we could be joined by a force sufficient to conquer it, and how soon that might happen was uncertain, for the enemy had taken such effectual measures to cut off all our communications, that not one letter despatched either to Cawnpore or any other military station was ever received. In this situation we remained unmolested and inactive till the 3rd of September; but although the enemy left us at our ease they were not unemployed; they were busy in fortifying and supplying with all kinds of stores all their strong places, one of which was ten miles to the southward and another fourteen miles to the eastward of us—the latter called Ramnagar is made famous by the only defeat our English army ever suffered within the Company's own provinces; about a mile to the north-west of the first, which is called Pateeta, they had collected the choicest of their troops, and were making every preparation to attack Chunar. This being learnt, it was thought best to risk an engagement with them immediately, than to wait their time and pleasure in the attack. On the 3rd

of September Captain Blair was detached from camp with his battalion and the two new-formed Grenadier companies of Major Popham's regiment with two six-pounders. The enemy were prepared to receive him behind their intrenchments with seven guns. They were about four thousand in number, and kept up a constant and heavy fire upon him by which his battalion was broken and would have been totally destroyed by their cavalry had not the latter been prevented from charging by the quick and well-directed fire of the two guns under Lieutenant Fireworker Baillie. These were now beginning to run at the muzzle and touch-hole, and would have been soon unserviceable had not the two other Grenadier companies under Lieutenant Fallon and Birrell made a bold push at the guns, of which they took four, and turned them on the enemy who were thus totally routed with some slaughter. On our side about one hundred of the battalions were killed and wounded, but not one of the Grenadiers who so gallantly took the guns. No officer was hurt, nor has one single European been wounded since the Ramnagur defeat.

"On the same night that Captain Blair marched on this expedition the picket to the west of the fort commanded by Captain Hogan, where I served, was attacked by four or five hundred men, who, after exchanging a few shots, ran away and left their plunder on the road, and succeeded only in setting fire to a few houses of the bazar, which were soon extinguished. From this day we heard nothing from the enemy, and on the 10th were joined by a detachment from Cawnpore, commanded by Major Crabb, consisting of his and Major Balfour's regiments of two battalions each, fifty grenadiers, and fifty light infantry Europeans, under Major Humphries, and a large train of artillery directed by Captain Hill. The next day arrived the Nawab Vizier with an immense army, which encamped on the opposite side of the river from Chunar, and stayed there till the 26th, during which time the Governor frequently visited and was visited by him. On the 13th we were reinforced by the arrival of Major Roberts' regiment from Lucknow, with a most seasonable supply of one hundred thousand rupees, which were distributed to the troops. The army, being divided into two detachments, marched on the 16th, one commanded by Major Crabb, consisting of his regiment, Captain Blair's battalions, and the party of the Vizier's body-guard, now increased to five hundred men, moved towards Lutteefpore, about thirty-six miles from Chunar, through passes, woods, and hills almost impenetrable to artillery, of which they had a large train, composed of four six-pounders, one mortar, and one howitzer. The other detachment, whose object was Pateeta, under the command of Major Popham, was formed of his, Major Roberts', and Major Balfour's regiments, the two companies of Europeans, and the fifty French Rangers, with two eighteen-pounders, six six-pounders, one mortar, and two howitzers. On the 20th Pateeta was taken by storm, with the loss of six men only, and Major Crabb, having on the same day defeated a large army, in which engagement he lost only ten men, entered Lutteefpore on the 21st, having been evacuated in the night. On the 23rd Major Balfour, who, with his regiment of two battalions and two six-pounders, had left Major Popham's camp the day before, entered Ramnagur. I forgot to tell you that Major McSses Crauford with his regiment and one hundred and fifty cavalry had arrived from Buxar on the 19th, and that about the same time we heard of Major James Crauford with his

regiment being on the back of the hills behind Bedjeghur, which was now the only fort left to the rebel Raja. The whole detachment being again collected together at Lutteespore (except Major Roberts' regiment and the five hundred of the Vizier's body-guard, which returned to attend the Governor-General) marched against Bedjeghur, which is so strong a place, situated on so perpendicular a rock 786 feet high, that there is little prospect of taking it except by blockade. The Governor-General, having taken leave of the Nawab Vizier on the 26th, left Chunar in the night, and arrived early the next morning at Ramnagur; from thence he crossed over, two days after, to Benaris, where he now is employed in distributing rewards and punishments, and in settling the country under the authority of the new Raja. The man whom he has raised to that dignity is called Mehip Narain, and is a legitimate grandson of Bulwant Sing by the female line, whilst the rebel Raja, by name Cheit Sing, is a bastard son of Bulwant Sing. The new Raja, is a young man of about nineteen, very heavy, very fat, very dull, and very stupid; his father, however, who is appointed deputy, is thought to be a remarkably clever man, as is also the person they have made Dewan, or Prime Minister. Mr. Markham is continued in the Residency, and is to have a guard of seven hundred men, commanded by Captain Hogan. Cheit Sing has fled altogether out of this province, and has taken refuge with part of his treasures in Chatterpore, at the court of the Bundelcund Raja, who has been written to by the Governor to deliver him up that he may suffer the punishment due to his crimes. The greatest part of his treasures, which are supposed to have been immense, were plundered by his own people the day he fled from Lutteespore. A small part he carried with him, and the rest will enrich those officers who are luckily engaged in the siege of Bedjeghur. A day or two after that he released Mr. Barnet, a merchant of Benaris, the Governor's Banyan, and one of the greatest black bankers of this country, all three of whom he had in close confinement; but fourteen of the French Rangers, who, being sick, had been left behind at Mirzapore when Captain Mayaffre marched from thence on the 18th of August to Ramnagur, had been carried prisoners to Lutteespore, were put to death by order of the Raja, as were also some black men of rank who had formerly been obnoxious to him, and were now unluckily in his hands.

"The above account has already taken so much room, that were I to say much about myself, this letter would be hardly portable. As for news, I am here out of the way of ever hearing any till it is stale. Intelligence is just received from Colonel Muir that he has concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with Scindia, the Mahratta chief, who was opposed to him in the North-west, and the last letters from General Goddard on the Bombay side seem to promise a peace with the whole Mahratta State, which there is no doubt but the treaty with Scindia will speedily effect. To the southward General Sir Eyre Coote has been gaining two victories over Hyder Ali, the last of which has been so complete that it is reported that Hyder has evacuated Arcot and gone through the Ghauts into his own country, whither Coote will pursue him as soon as he has collected provisions and military stores sufficient for so distant an expedition. In the meantime Colonel Muir, having got rid of Scindia as an enemy, will invade Hyder's country from the northward, and General Goddard, as soon as he shall have concluded the peace with the Mahrattas, will enter Hyder's dominions from the west-

ward, whilst Sir Edward Hughes and his fleet attack all his seaports. It is further said that Nezapatam is taken from the Dutch, and that with the assistance of the Raja of Cundy an internal war has been raised against the *Mynheers* in Ceylon.

"I have just been informed by a gentleman in Calcutta, that he has European letters for me, but was afraid to trust them by the *Dank*. I am anxiously waiting for their arrival, but cannot receive them in time to acknowledge them more particularly by this despatch. I have desired Mrs. S. to open this letter before she sends it to you, as I have no time to write the same long story to her; it must, indeed, serve for a general letter to the whole family, to whom I request you will make my excuses for not as usual writing them each a separate letter. To my honoured mother I will make an apology myself, which I hope will be admitted, as this is the first occasion in which I have been deficient in duty.

"Your most affectionate and dutiful son,

"ED. COLEBROOKE.

THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN JAPAN.

THE subject of our commercial intercourse with Japan is so full of interest that no apology is required for placing before our readers some account of the visit of the first Englishman to Japan 287 years ago. The name of this countryman of ours was William Adams, and although he visited this state of the far East in the character of the servant of a foreign Power, his thoughts and acts showed that while he was faithful to his Dutch masters the interests of his own country were never forgotten. I must add that the materials for this narrative have been taken with permission from the manuscript records in the India Office.

William Adams was born at Jellingham in Kent, about the year 1562. At the age of twelve he became apprentice to a pilot at Limehouse, and he remained with him till he was twenty-four. He was then appointed master of one of Queen Elizabeth's own war-ships, and for eleven or twelve years after the Armada he was employed by the Company of Barbary merchants. At this period an important change occurred in the commercial world. The Dutchman Linschoten returned from India with tales of the decadence of the Portuguese, and his evidence, added to the increasing confidence of the Protestant maritime Powers, emboldened his countrymen to essay the Cape route to the Indies. In the year 1598 the Amsterdam Company, of which the chief representatives seem to have been Peter van der Hay and Hans van der Veek, fitted out a fleet* to sail to the Eastern seas. The general and admiral

* Purchas gives the following as the names of the vessels composing this fleet: the *Hope*, *Charitie*, *Faith*, *Fidelity*, and the *Good Newes*. He also says Sir Jaques Mahu was general and Simon de Cordes vice-admiral. The other three captains were named Benninghen, Bockholt, and Sabalt de Wert.

was Jaques Maihore, and by some chain of circumstances, now buried in oblivion, William Adams was appointed Pilot-major of the Dutch Fleet, and took passage on board the admiral's own ship.

The exact date of the sailing of this fleet was June 24, 1598, but owing to the lateness of the season it was compelled to take shelter on the coast of Guinea, where many men were lost from fever. Thence they proceeded to the Brazils, taking on the way the island of Anna Bona, where they found a town of eighty houses, and stayed for some weeks to refresh. They did not reach the Straits of Magellan till April 6, 1599, and it was not until the month of September that they found themselves able to quit this haven. Then the different vessels parted company, and although a rendezvous was appointed off the coast of Chili, they never all came together again. The ship to which Adams * was attached fortunately weathered the storms it encountered, and after waiting twenty-eight days in vain for its companions proceeded on its journey across the Pacific.

At Santa Maria the crew were compelled, notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the natives, to go on shore in search of fresh provisions, and here a party of twenty-three Dutchmen and the captain were drawn into an ambuscade and lost their lives. This catastrophe was followed by a junction with the admiral's vessel, but what seemed a piece of good fortune was speedily dimmed by the fact that it had suffered a similar loss in all its officers and half its crew having been slain in a skirmish with the same islanders. The two vessels then sailed in company for Japan, but were separated *en route* in another storm. That, however, which carried Adams succeeded in reaching the coast of Japan on April 19, 1600, and the sight of this long-expected land was doubly welcome, inasmuch as only six of the crew were in a fit condition for work or, as the narrative puts it, "could stand upon their feet."

The place at which the ship landed is named Bovingo or

* At Magellan he changed from the admiral's ship to another.

Bungo in the principality of Satsuma. In a very short time the vessel was boarded by the Japanese. Resistance was out of the question; and indeed no violence was attempted, but as neither could speak the other's language little progress was made towards an understanding till the arrival of a Jesuit interpreter. The chief of Bovingo gave them a favourable reception, allotting them a house to live in and fresh provisions. Of twenty-four sick men and whole, six died at Bovingo before the Emperor of Japan, hearing of the arrival of the foreign vessel, sent a fleet to escort its crew to his capital at Ozaka. Adams being now the highest in rank became spokesman for the rest, and had to reply to many inquiries about his country and the condition of Europe. After this interview Adams, with his Dutch servant, was committed to custody, but was well treated. At a second interview the emperor asked specifically, "What was their reason for coming so far?" And Adams replied diplomatically, that "they were a people that sought friendship with all nations, and to have trade in all countries, bringing such merchandise as their own afforded to exchange for foreign commodities."

By this time Adams had made a sufficiently favourable impression on the emperor to gain better treatment, including a change to more comfortable quarters; but he was still kept in nominal confinement for thirty-nine days. He himself wrote, during this period, that he daily expected the punishment of the cross, as the Portuguese and Jesuits were particularly bitter against him and the Dutch, alleging that they were all pirates, and if they were treated as such it would deter others of the same race from coming to Japan. It seemed only too probable that these arguments would carry weight with a timid and suspicious ruler; but after more than five weeks' incarceration Adams was able to write: "But God showed mercy unto us," the emperor having decided that it would be unjust to put the Dutch to death because they were opposed in religion and politics to the Portuguese, when they had done no wrong in Japan.

Meantime the ship itself had been brought as near as possible to Ozaka, and the first intimation Adams received of his liberation was an inquiry if he wished to go on board his vessel. To this he joyfully assented, only to find that the ship had been plundered, and that he had lost his clothes, books, and instruments. The lives of the remaining officers and crew had, like his, been spared, and when news of the robbery reached the emperor he ordered restitution to be made; but this, it is scarcely necessary to add, was only done in a very imperfect manner, although the sum of 50,000 rials,* or about £4,166 of our money, was handed over to them as compensation by the emperor. The Court moved at this moment to Eddo (Yeddo), in the province of Quanto, and the ship was moved round the coast to the same destination. Two years passed in silence, and then the Dutch crew mutinied, and demanded that the remaining portion of the 50,000 rials should be divided amongst them. Then each man, in the words of the narrative, "took his way whither he thought best;" but those that remained in Japan were allowed by the emperor 2 lbs. of rice a day. History contains, with one exception, no record of their subsequent fate, but Adams's fortunes proved greater and more remarkable after the dispersion of the band. The abortive Dutch voyage turned out to be of importance, because of the individual success of the Englishman who chanced to be associated with it.

The details of Adams's early career in Japan are meagre or practically nil. It was four or five years after his first arrival in the country that he succeeded in ingratiating himself with the emperor by the construction of a small vessel. When the emperor desired him to build one, he replied that he was no carpenter; but the emperor was not to be thus put off, and said, "Well, do your endeavours, if it be not good it is no matter." Adams then built a ship of

* A rial was a silver coin current in Persia and Arabia equal to two French francs or twenty English pence.—*Balfour's Cyclopædia.*

eighty tons, in all respects, we are told, on the English plan. He was rewarded with an annual pension of seventy ducats, in addition to his daily allowance of rice. His influence with the emperor was such that both the Spaniards and the Portuguese requested him to intercede for them at Court, and he did so, thus returning good for evil.

Notwithstanding his great good fortune, Adams found Japanese life irksome, and after another five years he requested leave to return to Europe to see his wife and children, but although he urged his appeal with the emperor in person, he could not get a favourable response. The utmost that that prince would do was to allow the Dutch captain to leave in a Japanese junk for Patania, whence he proceeded to Johore, and joined a Dutch fleet he found there, under Admiral Madlidf. By this channel Adams sent, in October, 1611, the first news of his welfare to his family, after a silence of more than ten years, as well as offers of service to his countrymen, should they make their way to Japan.

Then Adams resumed his work in the Emperor of Japan's service. He made several voyages round the coast in the vessel he had built for the emperor,* and he also built a second ship of the same size. He was rewarded with the grant of a manor and of eighty slaves, and the manor was called Phebe. From the description given of it it must have been a collection of houses and farms, forming an extensive village, within which Adams had powers of life and death. When the Spanish governor of the Philippines was wrecked, in a large vessel called the *St. Francisco*, on the Japanese coast, he was lent one of Adams's ships to continue his voyage to Acapulco. The Spaniards reciprocated this kindness with the gift of a large fine vessel, which formed a welcome addition to the emperor's fleet.

The Dutch also visited Japan in 1609, and again in 1611, and Adams told them that they would find Japan an

* His name was Ogoshō Samma.

"Indies" for money, and that such articles as lead, raw silk, damask, black taffaties, black and red cloth, would command ready money. At the same time he gave the following interesting account of the country in which he had experienced so much hospitality and kindness.

"This island of Japan is a great land, and lieth in lat. 48° at the south extremity, and 35° at the north, in length 220 English leagues. The people are good of nature, courteous out of measure, and valiant in war. Justice is severely executed upon transgressors without partiality. There is not in the world a land better governed by civil policy. The people are very superstitious in their religion, being divers in opinion. There are many Christians by reason of the Jesuits and Franciscans, which are numerous, having many churches in the land."

The next occasion on which Adams had to use his influence and good offices was in behalf of his own countrymen, under circumstances which have now to be explained. The eighth voyage of the English East India Company in 1611, under the command of General Saris, included an intended visit to Japan, for which purpose a small vessel named the *Clove* was specially assigned. The twenty-fourth paragraph of the commander's instructions related to the visit to Japan, and specific mention is made of William Adams, an Englishman now residing there, and in great favour with the emperor. If circumstances proved favourable, General Saris was authorized to found a factory in Japan; and, finally, King James wrote a letter of general amity and affection for the Emperor of Japan, and asking for his royal protection for the intended factory. An intimation of the coming visit was conveyed to Adams in a letter from Sir Thomas Smith, one of the governors of the Company, and he at once told the emperor, who expressed his gratification at the king of so remote a country having such a high opinion of himself and his state as to send him a special embassy. When Adams felt sure of the emperor's good-will, he sent off word to the agent at Bantam that he could promise his countrymen a reception "as welcome and as free in comparison as in the river of London." At the same time he was not very sanguine about the pros-

pects of a busy trade, as the Dutch and Spaniards had gained possession of the market. He concludes by saying :—

“Could our English merchants after settling in Japan procure trade with the Chinese, then shall our country make great profit here, and the Company will not have need to send money out of England, for in Japan there are gold and silver in abundance, and therefore by the traffic here they will take in exchange money enough for their investments in the Indies. The Hollanders are now (1612) settled in Japan, and I have got them that privilege which the Spaniards could never obtain in the fifty or sixty years since they first visited Japan. In this year the Spaniards and Portuguese have applied to me as an instrument to get their liberty in that manner as the Hollanders, but upon consideration of farther inconvenience I have not sought it.”

That Adams had the interests of his country specially at heart is shown by more unequivocal action than his refusal to exert his influence in behalf of her pronounced enemies. He wrote to the agent at Bantam pointing out that if the English Company wanted to have a profitable trade in Japan it should select some other site than Firando for its proposed factory, not merely because the Dutch were already established there, but because it was situated at an inconvenient distance from the capital of the country. He strongly recommended some port on the eastern coast, and as close as possible to Edo, the Tokio of to-day. In support of his suggestions he sent a map which he had himself drawn during his numerous voyages round the coast. He also records his own title among the Japanese of Augin Samma, and concludes † by saying : “And comes there a ship here I hope the Worshipful Company shall find me to be a servant of their servants in such manner as that

* He thus speaks of there being few charges : “The charges at Court are not great, only a present for the emperor and another for the king, and two or three other presents for the secretaries ; other customs here be none.”

† The same letter contains one or two other passages worth referring to. He says it was only in 1611 that he learnt that the English had established trade with the Indies. He also expresses thanks for a present of books including a Bible, and for the loan to his wife of £20 by Sir Thomas Smith.

they shall be satisfied with my services. If any ship come near the easternmost part of Japan let them inquire for me, nor fear to come near the mainland, for you shall have barks with pilots to carry you where you will."

The *Clowe* with General Saris* on board, reached Firando on June 12, 1613, and was well received by the king or governor (Japanese name being Tono), who had been specially requested by Adams to give his countrymen a hearty welcome and to send him news of their arrival by an immediate post. Adams came to Firando on July 29th, forty-eight days after the arrival of the English ship. He then took them up to the emperor's Court, and after "a costly and tedious journey" Saris and his companions returned to Firando in November. The visit to the capital was in more than one particular interesting. King James's letter was delivered to the emperor in a personal audience, being handed to him by his secretary, and after he had bidden the English envoy welcome Adams translated the document. General Saris then enumerated his terms with regard to the establishment of a factory, and after these were abridged, as "the Japanese loved brevity," the emperor gave his formal assent in a convention of seven articles.

One of the first acts of Saris after his return from Yeddo was to appoint Adams † a Company's servant at a salary of £100 a year—a salary greater than that of any factor brought from England, and granted to him in consideration of his services in inducing the emperor to give permission for establishing a factory at Firando. This factory was

* Bruce's Annals is of course the standard work for this period, but it is quite wrong in this matter, speaking of the journey of Saris to Japan having taken place in 1610, and having been such a failure that one of the factors recommended Siam as a preferable field for commerce to Japan.

† Adams first demanded £12 per month, saying that the Dutch gave him £15. He also expressed his desire to stay on in Japan "to get some fruit for his labour, having hitherto spent many years in vain in order not to return home with an empty purse." Adams is stated to have changed his original intention of returning to England in the *Clowe* through some discourtesies offered him by Captain Saris. The emperor gave him leave to tarry or depart.

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duly established with Mr. Cock as chief, and six other Englishmen were left with him. Their names were Tempest Peacock, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edward Saris, and William Nelson. Of these Peacock and Carwarden were shortly afterwards sent to Cochin China, where they unfortunately lost their lives. With regard to the security of the factory, Adams wrote to Sir Thomas Smith assuring him that it would be as safe in his hands as if it were in Smith's own house, and he went on to suggest that certain presents should be sent to the emperor, viz., sufficient Russia glass to glaze a room, some fine lamb-skins, three pieces of Holland cloth, and three or four pairs of spectacles.

Reference has been made to the want of cordiality between Saris and Adams. The feelings of the former towards the man who had most contributed to the success of his voyage were revealed in the instructions he left behind him with regard to the new factory at Firando. Not merely did he say that Adams was only fit to be employed as master of the junk and as linguist at Court, but he went on to declare that Adams was better affected to the Flemings and the Spaniards than to his own nation. In support of these random charges there is absolutely no evidence, and the success of his efforts to promote the factory might have been deemed sufficient to save his reputation for patriotism and good faith. On December 5th in the same year as that of its arrival the *Clove* sailed for England.

A few of the chief incidents in the early life of this factory may be briefly sketched. In the first year of its existence the Christians fell into disgrace, and the Spanish *padres* were ordered to leave the country. This did not affect the English merchants, but when they hoisted their flag with the cross on it they were required to take it down. One curious fact about the factory house was that it was rented from a Chinaman called Andrea Dittis, and the rent seems to have been £20 every six months. After the first

term the fee simple was purchased for a trifling sum, but as Andrea's name appears several times later for different amounts paid over to him he must have retained a lien on either the land or the building. He is also spoken of as our landlord. Dittis was a Chinese Christian, who turned to his own profit the desire of the English merchants to obtain a commercial foothold in China. Several attempts were made, but with only moderate success, to promote trade with the other ports of Japan such as Nagasaki and Ozaka. The emperor's privileges allowed of this being done, but the Japanese officials were not over well disposed to promote trade. This may have been due as much to the insignificance of the funds and merchandize * at the disposal of the Firando factors as to political bias. Even the emperor appears to have grown cold, for when one of the factors named Wickham was sent with a special show of woollen goods to Yeddo only a very small quantity was purchased by the Court.

Adams seems to have been employed in a variety of ways besides as intermediary with the emperor. In 1614 he was appointed to command a junk fitted out for trade with Siam, but the vessel being caught by the monsoon had to put into the Loo Choo † Islands for shelter and return to Firando *re infectâ*. At this time Adams when not at sea resided principally at Nagasaki, where the Spanish and Portuguese were not only firmly established, but had gained some converts to the Church of Rome. Adams had to put up with their secret animosity, and in a letter from one of

* Their value seems to have been only £5,000.

† The king and inhabitants of these islands gave them a friendly reception. Naffa is mentioned as the chief port, and is probably identical with Napakiang. Wheat, rice, and ambergris are specified as being among the natural productions of the archipelago, and very abundant. Of the people Wickham, the factor, wrote: "The inhabitants of these islands are descended from the race of the Chinas, wearinge theyre hayre longe, but tyed up on the right side of the head; a peaceable and quiet people; but of late years conquered by Ximas Dono, king of Satchma (Satsuma), so that now they are governed by the Japan lawes and customes, by which meanes they have lost theyre trade and priviledges in China."

the Company's agents occurs the passage : " The papistical rabble at Langasaque give out in his absence that he is a Lutrano (Lutheran), and they consider that he has incensed the emperor against them." While thus openly attacked, insinuations continued to be made against him from time to time in private letters that he was playing a double part and acting in collusion with his old employers the Dutch. These suggestions arose from the commercial success of the Dutch, who seem to have owed it, not to Adams's assistance, but to the undoubted superiority of their cloth.*

In the year 1614 a civil war was begun between the emperor and the son of his predecessor. This contest led to an improvement in the English trade, for no difficulty was experienced in getting rid of the lead, ordnance, and powder which formed part of the *Clove's* cargo. In arranging this particular transaction Adams naturally took the leading part.

When General Saris returned to England he painted the prospects of Japanese trade in such glowing colours that several ships were sent out to develop it ; but the advantages of Japan were not considered to be confined to its own home trade, for perhaps its chief merit consisted in its affording a convenient base for commercial intercourse with Corea and China.† The road to Corea lay through Yesso (then imperfectly known to the Japanese ruler himself) and Tsusima, while that with China was to be secured through the friendly offices of some Chinese merchants interested in the trade between Japan and the mainland. There is no doubt that the sustained efforts of the East India Company to

* In a letter from the factor occurs the admission : " The Hollanders, by reason of their fine cloths, have the chief custom of the lords and gentlemen of Edo, who seldom buy any coarse, except to give as livery to their servants.

† Mr. Coppingdale, captain and chief merchant, of the *Hosceander*, a ship sent from Bantam to Firando, where " the raw silk of China is always ready money in Japan. Either we must procure a peaceable trade in China or else, as the Hollanders do, trade with them per force."

develop the trade with Japan and to convert Firando into a flourishing factory were largely due to the sanguine expectations of General Saris.

Meantime the very man on whom the success of the undertaking really depended had been so often slighted by the factors that his enthusiasm had grown cold, if his friendship had not been absolutely alienated. When he received a letter from the emperor, who in 1615 had got the better of his rival and was firmly seated on the throne, asking him to come to Yeddo to advise with him as to a fort in the Loo Choo group, the English factors declared the letter to be a forgery, and got up between the Dutch and Adams so that he might accompany them to the emperor's court. When the whole matter came to be considered at home the Company had no hesitation in declaring that these allegations were false. The emperor's personal friendship for Adams seems to have increased rather than diminished, and he even went so far as to entreat him never to go another sea voyage, promising that if he incurred any loss he would raise his stipend by the same amount. It is not remarkable to find that under this patronage Adams showed himself on the termination of his two years' engagement with the Company averse to re-engage himself* at the same salary of £100 a year. That his sympathies were still English was shown by his refusing to yield to the emperor's entreaties not to go to sea, saying that he had given his word to command the junks and that it would be to his dishonour not to do so. That this was no empty declaration is shown by the fact, that in 1615 after his contract with the East India Company had expired, and when he was still in doubt as to how far they would accede to his terms, he commanded a junk for them in a very successful journey to Siam.

* In 1615 he asked that £30 or £40 should be given to his wife in England, but this he promised to repay in Japan: There is no detailed information, but from several references it appears to be unquestionable that Adams had a wife in Japan also.

Nothing has been said of any differences of opinion or want of harmony between the English residents and Japanese officials, although these must have occasionally arisen. The following incident is no doubt typical of many unknown passages in the early intercourse of the two peoples. It occurred in July, 1615.

"The executioner of Firando (an official of reputation in these parts) sent for the English Jurebasso accusing him with defaming his character by having said that he had put persons to death without cause. The Jurebasso denied the charge, but this did not appease the Bongew, for the next day he sent Mr. Cock word that for his sake he had saved the life of the Jurebasso (*i.e.*, he would not prosecute him), but that he must leave Firando in six days, otherwise threatening to make away with him. Agent Cock replied that he was under the protection of Ogosho Samma, the emperor, and had it under his ferme that no justice in Japan might meddle with me, nor no servant in my house, but for the emperor's permission, warning them upon their heads, as they would answer it with their whole generation, not to touch the Jurebasso till the king of Firando returned from Court; which reply Cock imagined put them in a Quandare as they afterwards sent word that they were willing to pardon the Jurebasso. In this, however, he was mistaken, for two or three days afterwards the Jurebasso was set upon by the retainers of the executioner, and narrowly escaped with his life. The king being absent, Agent Cock complained of this outrage done his servant to the Chief Justice of Firando, who promised to issue an order restraining the Bongew from offering the Jurebasso any further violence. This affair was ultimately accommodated through the mediation of Taccamon Dono,* who represented to Mr. Cock that if the suit against the Bongew was followed up he would be obliged to 'cut his bellie' and the Jurebasso the like."

As a contrast to this collision it may be mentioned that the Tono of Firando was invited to dinner† at his own request at the English factory, and that he showed his appreciation of the hospitality by sending the next day the present of a buck, but perhaps a more sincere testimonial to the heartiness of the English cheer was afforded by his

* Dono or Tonon—King or Daimio?

† There are several notices later on in the diaries and correspondence to similar entertainments, and the following information in connection with them is interesting. "It was common on these occasions for some of the Japanese guests and even the neighbours to contribute to the banquet. Thus Jubio Dono sent two barsos native wine, and two bundles of dried funny fish, and Tononnan Samma, the king's brother, sent two barrels Rotton wine and a fish, and Gonaco Dono a dish of oranges."

again asking to be invited to supper on the following evening. The Factors were feasted in their turn by the Tono with the following result—"the entertaynment was good, only the drynking was over much." Similar hospitalities were exchanged on several subsequent occasions, and at one banquet the Tono waited on his English guests with his own hands. The English merchants had by this time formed a pretty true and shrewd guess as to Japanese character, for they pronounced the people to be so fickle in their tastes that what was in high favour one season would be out of repute the next, and that novelty in imports was essential to success in trade. The trade with Tushma or Tsusima was rendered unprofitable, not because the islanders would not carry on commercial intercourse, but simply because their money was of no value. An instance is cited of English goods being paid for ultimately in walnuts. After stating these facts, the result of a disappointing experience, it will be suggestive to quote the following passage from the Court Minutes showing what expectations were based on the Japanese trade. "The export of gold and silver from England is very distasteful both to our state and people and openeth many men's mouthes against our trade, and is not profitable too if we could find means to prevent it; for our purpose, drift, and expectation is to furnish all places when we have commodities for silver, with the silver of Japan."

At the end of 1616 Adams left the Company's service, receiving his salary at the rate of £100* a year, for the period of three years and one month. He then purchased a junk from the factory and started in private trade on his own account with Cochin China. Up to the last he had been most helpful, procuring the release of prisoners taken by the Portuguese and Spaniards from under British protection, where the factors had failed to gain any redress, and whenever the Company's agents went to Yeddo it was always at the house of Adams that they resided. In con-

* 1233 taïs or £308 odd.

nection with this part of the subject it will be appropriate to quote at this point Agent Cock's account of his visit to the emperor's Court in company with Adams in 1616.

"The king's castle is exceeding strong, having a double ditch and stone walls a league over each way. I do hold it to be much more in compass than the city of Coventry, it will contain in it above 200,000 souldiers in time of war. The emperor's palace is a huge thing. The roofs of all the rooms are gilded with gould, and all the walls the same, except where painted with lions, tigers, panthers, eagles, and other beasts or fowls very lively drawne, and more esteemed than gilding. The floors were covered with mats edged with damask or cloth of gold, the plaits so closely woven that the point of a knife could not be inserted between them. None of us were admitted to see the emperor but myself, Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Wilson. He sat alone upon a place, something rising with one step, and had a silk catabra of a bright blew upon his back; he sat upon the matts cross-legged lyke a telier, and som three or four Bozes or Pagon Prists on his right hand in a room something lower. None, no not Codgskin Dono, nor his secretary, might not enter into the room where he sat, yet he called me once or twice to have come in, which I refused, which as I understood afterward was well esteemed of, I staid but littell in the place but was willed to retorne, and both at my entrance and retorne he bowed his head."

The emperor who gave this reception was not the same as Adams's friend, who had died in the spring of this year, and notwithstanding his friendly attitude on this occasion, he very soon showed his suspicion of the foreigners, if not open animosity. Even Adams fell under a cloud on suspicion of harbouring Christian priests at his country residence. However, the emperor conceded the renewal of the privileges of trade and residence which were required, but he refused to give a letter to the king of Cochin China which was the main object of Cock's mission. An early indication was afforded at this time of the little compunction with which our merchants would become soldiers and conquerors, when they suggested to the emperor's admiral that he should undertake the conquest of the Philippines from the Spaniards by the aid of the English and Dutch. The political motive at the root of this suggestion was to bring finally home to the mind of the Japanese Government the difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic nations, and capital was made out of the recent

Gunpowder Plot to show that Papists were conspirators and intriguers against authority. That these suggestions produced little effect was discovered on the way back to Firando, when, on careful perusal of the new privileges, it was discovered that they limited the right of trade and residence to the place where their ships arrived, or, in other words, to Firando for the English.

On making this discovery Cock at once retraced his steps to Yeddo, taking Adams with him, in the hope of inducing the emperor to restore the old privileges. All their representations were in vain. They were bandied about from one member of council to another, the emperor was represented as being furious and easily displeased, and the English had to submit to suffering some loss from the emperor's zeal in ridding the land of *padres*. The best consolation he could get was that, if the measures against the Roman Catholics proved successful, the English might count upon more favourable terms in the following year by renewing their request. The Japanese ministers even went so far as to say that the English were much better off in Japan than the Portuguese in China, but Mr. Cock had no difficulty in pointing out that this was not the case, and that the Portuguese enjoyed access from Macao to Canton, and immunity from the heavy charge of making presents at Court as he had to do. Adams gives his version of the negotiation, which is fortunately still on record.

"A few days after my arrival at Firando from a voyage to Siam, I proceeded with Mr. Cock up to the emperor's Court, and in five days after his arrival Mr. Cock delivered his present to the emperor, and in two days afterwards sent me to Court to demand a renewal of the privileges granted by the late emperor, and a gowshin for the English junk for Siam, which things were promised to be granted with all kind speeches, but in conclusion not performed as afterwards appeared. . . . Mr. Cock used every endeavour to get the new privileges made general, but to no effect, receiving this answer to all his applications that 'this was the first year of the emperor's reign, and as his edict was gone all over Japan it was not a thing presently to be called back again,' and that the Company's agent must therefore be content till next year, giving hopes that an application to that effect on going up with the Present the Privileges might be again enlarged.

"The following were the causes of these restraints upon foreigners.

In the year 1615 Japan was convulsed with wars for Fidayya Samma, the son of Quambacco, who was an infant two years old at the death of his father, being now in his 24th year, and having abundance of riches thought himself sufficiently strong, with the assistance of divers nobles, to make war with the emperor in support of his right to the throne. He was also incited to this enterprise by the Jesuits and Friars, who made him believe that he should work miracles, but eventually it proved to the contrary, for the old emperor presently maketh his forces ready by sea and land, marcheth against him and compasseth his castle. At length, though with loss of multitudes on both sides, he razeth the castle walls, setteth it on fire, and burneth Fidayya Samma in it. Thus ended the wars. Now the emperor hearing of these Jesuits and Friars being in the castle with his enemies and still instigating disaffection from time to time against him, commanded all Romish Christian men to depart out of his country, and their churches to be pulled down and burnt. This was the consequence in the old emperor's time. Now this year (1616) the old emperor dying, his son * succeeded him, and he is more set against the Romish religion than his father was, for he has prohibited any of his subjects on pain of death from becoming Romish Christians, and the more effectually to prevent the Romish sect from spreading in Japan, he hath ordered that no stranger merchant reside in any of the great cities, lest under that pretext, the Jesuits and Friars might secretly teach and propagate their doctrines. These are the causes that our English factory and all other foreigners are not suffered as before to go up into the country."

The conclusion to which the English residents came was that if they could not regain their old privileges it would be "but a folly to hould a factory in Japan," and, consequently, all their efforts were directed to inducing the new emperor to concede the same favours as his predecessor had granted. In all this they had to put up with the keen competition of the Dutch, who, in the desire to obtain a monopoly of the trade, were prepared to accept temporary loss by underselling English goods. Although the emperor gave Adams in 1617 a personal letter to the king of Cochin China, he refused to extend any fresh favour to his countrymen, and, when a fresh embassy was sent at great expense to Yeddo with a second letter from King James to the emperor, which Adams translated into Japanese, the only reply †

* Shongo Samma, son of Ogosho Samma.

† This decision was expressed in the following words: "That the emperor would give our Englishe nation no larger privileges than other strangers have; only to sell our merchandize at Firando and Langasaque. The reason he doth it, is for that his owne merchants of Japan shall have

given was that they might continue to trade at Firando. It is difficult, if not impossible, to say how far this unfavourable reply was due to the death of a Japanese man who was killed in a scuffle at Ykanowra by Mr. Eaton, one of the Company's factors. The deed seems to have been accidental, but Eaton was placed in confinement, and, after some delay, his Japanese boy, who was the primary cause of the *fracas*, had his throat cut by order of the local court. After being detained several weeks, Mr. Eaton was released, and the incident seemed to possess no ulterior significance. It might easily have proved different, for several of the deceased's companions swore they would take Eaton's life. He owed his safety to the strenuous efforts of the Firando factors, and the Japanese governor of that place.*

In 1617 Adams, who had shown his goodwill towards the Company by recovering several of their old debts which had been given up for lost, declared his intention of returning to England, but the Chinese merchants Dittis and Whaw induced him to forego this intention, and to undertake instead another voyage to Cochin China. He may have been tempted to this by the great profit of his journey to Siam in the previous year, when the sapan wood and deerskins brought from Siam in the junk *Sca Adventure*

the profit of selling within land before strangers, as also that under culler of buying and selling noe Prists may lurk up and downe his countrey to alter religion, as heretofore they have donne." No reply was sent to King James's letter, because it was addressed to the emperor's deceased father ("a thing held ominous in Japan").

* Another incident of a somewhat similar kind, which happened about the same time, is thus described: "1617, April 4. This day the cook, an Englishman, in a rage threw a knife at Ball, the king's dogg, which we kept in the English house, and killed him. If this had hapened in the tyme Foyné Samme, who esteemed the dogg, yt might have cost us all our lives. The present king overlooked it, saying that he presumed it was done accidentally." Two years later one of the factors, Edmund Sayer, was banished by order of the Japanese, because of a disturbance with some of their people, in which the Japanese were the aggressors. Two of the latter were also banished. The sentence against Sayer was allowed to lapse in the following year,

realized a profit of 300 per cent. By the commencement of 1618 the Japanese authorities had become more opposed to the English trading with the interior, and on one occasion Adams was paid 100 tais, or £25, to remain behind to recover money and bring it to Firando, for he "was the only Englishman permitted to stay there."

At the same time that the Japanese showed a waning sympathy, the rivalry between the Dutch and English became more acute, and broke out in acts of overt hostility. In August the Dutch vessel *Swan* arrived at Firando with an English prize, the *Attendant*. There were no English on board her, and Captain Cock insinuated that they had been thrown overboard. The Dutch offered to restore the ship, but, as it had been plundered, this reparation was not held to be sufficient, and again the factors went on a special mission to Yeddo, to obtain an order from the emperor for inflicting a more adequate punishment upon their rivals. In this they seem to have failed, and the relations between the neighbouring factories continued to be bitter, until, in 1620, an event occurred which provoked an open collision. The Dutch had attacked in Patania Road some of our vessels, and in a scuffle they had killed Captain John Jourdain, the English President of Batavia, besides taking several prisoners. Now it happened that some of the vessels reaching Firando had on board some of these captives, three of whom made good their escape to the English factory, and, when the Dutch officers demanded their surrender, the factor, Captain Cock, stoutly refused to yield up his countrymen, and, when the Dutch had recourse to force, manfully defended the factory, and repulsed his assailants. The story still stands in his own words :

"The Hollanders at Firando hereupon demanded them to be delivered back as captives. The English chief, Richard Cock, answered that he would first see the commission authorizing them to take the shipping and goods of the Company, and the persons of their servants. To which they made no reply, but went to the Tono of Firando, demanding of him that their English slaves * (kengos) might be returned. The Tono answered that he took not the English to be their slaves, but, if they had such a pretension,

referred them to the emperor. Seeing their expectation frustrated, they made their assaults on the English factory in one day, and, though they outnumbered the English in the proportion of 100 to 1, yet, by the assistance of the Japanese, our neighbours, the Dutch, were repulsed."

The narrative is thus continued :

"The Hollanders this year having seven ships in the port of Firando, have by sound of trumpet proclaimed open war against the English. They pursued this declaration by various outrages, for, though as soon as they had assaulted the factory, the Tono sent for the Dutch commander, and obliged him to exchange a written undertaking with the English chief not to ill-use Englishman or Hollander in word or deed, in three or four days after the Dutch seized a boat belonging to an English *soytone*, just returned from Cochin China. The Tono, moved at this violence, which he witnessed, sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Speck, the Dutch captain, nor was he liberated till Richard King, the Englishman whom the Hollanders had taken with the boat, was set free. This affair was scarcely passed over when an English junk arrived from Siam. Two boats going from our factory to tow her in, the Hollanders fired into them, and, misusing the English on board, killed a Japanese. Yet, for all this, no justice is executed against them by the king of Firando, though the emperor hath commanded him to do it."

It was while this feud was at its height, and before the Treaty of Defence between England and Holland of July, 1619, had reached Japan, that William Adams died, as recorded in the following passage :

"William Adams's engagement to serve the Company expired on 24th December, 1616. His death occurred in May, 1620. In the interval he was employed partly in trading on his own account, and partly as interpreter and commercial or political agent to others. Thus we find him alternately navigating his own junk, going as pilot or captain for the factory as well as

* The arrogance of the Dutch at this time is illustrated by the following anecdote : "A Dutchman, who had lived in the country twenty years, and who spoke the Japanese language fluently, being up at the imperial court, began to boast of the power of the king of Holland, and that he kept all the other European kings in subjection. This flourish was made in the presence of Cock and other English, the Dutchman supposing that he was not understood by them. But our Company's agent, correcting him, explained the nature of the Dutch Government, and that but for the assistance of the king of England, the States of Holland had never vaunted of their power." The Portuguese and Spaniards were present at this discourse, and jeered the braggart at his exposure, while the Japanese bystanders joined in the laugh."

† "The English were constrained to keep in their house a guard of Japans night and day, armed at great charge."

native owners, assisting both the English and Dutch deputations by his knowledge of the language and customs at Court, and, amidst all, conducting specific negotiations entrusted to him by the emperor."

Agent Cock, who had several times denounced him as the ally of the Dutch, thus wrote of him after his death :

"Our good friend Captain William Adams, who was so long before us in Japan, departed out of this world the 16th of May last, and made Mr. William Eaton and myself his overseers, giving the one half of his estate to his wife and child in England and the other half to a son and daughter* he hath in Japan. I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was, he having been in such favour with two Emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with emperors when many Japan kings stood without and could not be permitted. This emperor hath confirmed the lordship to his son which the other emperor gave to the father."

The subsequent history of the Firando factory down to its withdrawal does not come within the range of this narrative, but when it is remembered that 240 years were to elapse after the death of Adams before Japan opened herself to European trade and influence, the magnitude of his success must become more apparent to the reader. It may be fairly claimed for the memory of William Adams that he was one of the pioneers of English commerce in the far East. His own personal success during the twenty years of his residence in the country was quite extraordinary, and, if the East India Company did not fare equally well in its efforts to develop the Japan trade, the result was not in any way attributable to want either of effort or of zeal on the part of Adams. This account of his career may do something to perpetuate his name as one of those English worthies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose efforts and exile brought little or no personal benefit to themselves, but whose example and experience contributed so much to the extension of our national commerce and dominion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

* Named Joseph and Susannah respectively.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN CODES.*

IN this volume we have an edition of the Anglo-Indian Codes, in which the commentator has the advantage of being to a great extent the author of the codes on which he comments, while as to all his official position gave him special opportunities for becoming acquainted with the objects at which they aimed, and the degree of success which they have attained. Mr. Stokes was Secretary to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India, while Mr. H. S. Maine, Mr. J. F. Stephen, and Mr. Hobhouse filled successively the post of Law-Member. He then held that office himself for five years. During this last period the Codes which consolidate the law of negotiable instruments, of easements, trusts, and the transfer of real property were framed and passed. The Penal Code, as is well known, was the work of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, and was passed by Sir Barnes Peacock. All the other Codes in this volume became law under the official responsibility of the other members whom we have named, though some even of these were drawn by Mr. Stokes.

The present volume contains the substantive law of India, so far as it has been yet codified. It commences with a most interesting general introduction, in which we are shown the principles upon which Indian codification has proceeded, and the steps by which it has advanced. Each Code has its own special introduction, containing a summary of its provisions, and pointing out how far it

* "The Anglo-Indian Codes." Edited by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Correspondent of the Institute of France, and late Law-Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India. Vol. I. Substantive Law. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1887.

differs from the corresponding branch of English law. Every section is illustrated and explained by reference to decisions of the English and Indian Courts. An elaborate index supplies the fullest facility for reference. The whole constitutes the first instalment of a work which will add, if possible, to the legal reputation of its author; which will deprive English lawyers of all excuse for the blank ignorance they display of the advance of legal science in the East; and which, if it does not excite our own legislators to emulation, ought at least to cover them with shame.

Our Indian Empire possesses all the conditions which render codification at once necessary and difficult. It is a singular instance of a civilized country which has no *lex loci*. The community is divided into great classes, each of which is supposed to be governed by its own personal law. When they have no personal law, they have no law, except what we choose to invent for them. Far the larger part of the population consists of Hindus and Muhammedans, who have each an elaborate legal system of their own. Besides these, there is the large and growing East Indian class, who are generally of mixed English and native blood, and who are perfectly satisfied to be treated as Englishmen. There are the smaller but still respectable classes of Jews, Parsees, and Armenians, of whose usages little or nothing is known. Beyond these again are the aboriginal tribes, dwellers on hill and in jungles, who want very little law, and have still less. Till the latter half of the present century, the only rule laid down for our judges in civil matters was, that they were to administer to Hindus and Muhammedans their own laws in matters of succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, and that in all other matters not provided for by specific legislation, they were to act according to equity and good conscience. Of course equity and good conscience meant what each judge thought best to do in the particular case. If there had been no Courts of Appeal and no bar, the result would have been a paternal system of arbitration,

which would have been satisfactory enough when the judge was sensible and painstaking. But our judicature was based upon an elaborate succession of appeals. An acute and learned bar practised in the higher Courts, and an attempt was made to lay down general rules, and to follow precedents. Naturally English law, or what was supposed to be English law, was adopted. Technicalities have always a strange fascination for beginners in law, and the Sudder Courts seemed to revel in all the refinements of champerty and estoppel, with a grave belief which could not have been surpassed by Saunders or Parke. The void in Indian jurisprudence was being rapidly filled up by a reference to English decisions, often badly chosen, and often misunderstood. The only mode of checking this noxious growth was to supply the judges with an authoritative body of law, framed on sound principles, and presented in suitable language. In 1834 the first step towards carrying out this object was taken, and a Law Commission was appointed, which was moved and vivified by the genius of Macaulay.

There was no difficulty in determining the general principles on which the codes should be framed. The customs and usages of every class of the community, especially in matters of domestic law, were to be followed whenever they could be ascertained with certainty and applied with justice. In other cases, such rules were to be laid down as had stood the test of civilized experience. In selecting these rules a natural preference was given to English law, which, with all its faults, had shown an eminent zeal for justice, and a special power of adaptation to the growing wants of a free and progressive people.

Much greater difficulty must have been felt in settling the form in which these principles were to be presented. The English language, which is able to express the most abstruse ideas with the most transparent clearness, seems to veil itself in studied obscurity when it speaks with the voice of the British Parliament. General statements qualified by exceptions, which are themselves to be understood with

the aid of reference to matters that have gone before, and with a reservation of matters that are to come after ; amplifications, repetitions, and circumlocutions ; all these complicated by a breathless tone, arising from the theory that a statute must be construed without the aid of punctuation ; such are the ordinary characteristics of an Act of Parliament. But a code so drawn would be useless in India. It would be unintelligible to the suitor, misunderstood by the judge, and incapable of being translated into any native language.

Of course the reasons for drawing a statute as if it were a conundrum, lie on the surface. The draughtsman has to state a rule which will apply to one set of concrete instances, and which will not apply to another set of instances, and yet he is not allowed to specify the instances which are to be admitted or the instances which are to be excluded, for fear of admitting instances which he would wish to exclude, or excluding instances which he would wish to admit. Hence a studied vagueness and ambiguity of language, which is in some degree made up for by the fact that it will be construed by persons who thoroughly understand the law which it was intended to change, and the change it was intended to effect. Mr. Macaulay hit upon a form of drafting which was as ingenious as it was novel. He first stated the general rule as clearly and simply as language could express it. He then followed up the rule by separate clauses, containing such exceptions and explanations as were required. Finally he appended to all a series of illustrations, showing by concrete cases how the rule should be applied, and when it would be inapplicable. The result was that a statute was like a very accurately written and highly condensed text-book, except that the legislator could invent his cases, while the text-writer had to take whatever he could find. The intention of the framers of the Codes was that the illustrations should be treated as "cases decided, not by the judges, but by the legislature, by those who make the law, and who must know more certainly than

any judge can know what the law is which they mean to make." Yet even this intention has sometimes failed. In some very rare cases the illustration has gone distinctly beyond the letter of the law, and the judges have considered themselves bound to follow the law and not the illustration. In a case not referred to by Mr. Stokes (7 Cal. 135), the High Court of Bengal said, "We have already decided more than once in this Court, that the illustrations ought never to be allowed to control the plain meaning of the section itself, and certainly they ought not to do so, where the effect would be to curtail a right which the section in its ordinary sense would confer."

The first branch of law which was codified was the Criminal Law. Up to 1860 this department, the most important of all in a low form of civilization, was in a state which may be described as barbarism modified by makeshift. When we took over the government of Bengal after Clive's victories, we found that so far as any system of criminal law was in existence it was that of the Koran. This was natural enough, considering that the rulers of Bengal were Muhammedans. To please every one it was enacted that the Muhammedan criminal law should be administered, from north to south of India, to countless millions of Hindus, who hated Mahomet and all his works as they hated cholera or small-pox. Each European judge was provided with a Mussulman assessor, who was to listen to the whole trial, and to pronounce at the end whether the prisoner was guilty or innocent, and what punishment was appropriate to his offence. But this official, imposing as he looked, with his majestic beard, his flowing robes and his stately turban, uttered opinions which horrified his associate. After listening to evidence which was conclusive and uncontradicted, he would calmly pronounce that the prisoner was innocent, because there was only one eye-witness instead of two, or because the two eye-witnesses were women. He would declare that an atrocious murderer could not be executed, because some of his victim's relations had

not demanded retaliation, or because the evidence, though sufficient to warrant cutting off his limbs, fell short by some scruples of the legal minimum, which would justify cutting off his head. Any other nation in the world would have dismissed the Moulvi as a useless incumbrance. We preferred to retain and to neutralize him. The judge, having listened with deference to his elaborate nonsense, was directed to require his views, on the assumption that the facts were different. If the man was two men, or if the women were males, or if a complete chorus of avenging relatives was present, what could be done then? In this way a satisfactory verdict was generally attained. The barbarous punishments of the Koran were commuted by a fixed rule, according to which an amputated hand represented so many years in prison, and an amputated leg represented so many more.

It would have been difficult to invent a code which should not be an improvement upon this system. To the credit of Mr. Macaulay and his associates it may be asserted, that the Code which they invented is far in advance of the criminal law which is administered at any assizes or at any quarter sessions in England. It is free from the refinements and subtleties and artificial constructions which disfigure so much of our law. What is of far greater importance, it is capable of being understood; the native of India can, by reading a Code of 511 sections, learn the criminal law to which he is subject, with a certainty which an Englishman cannot attain after he has studied a series of text books ranging from Hale to Stephen, and a series of statutes ranging from Edward III. to the middle of last month.

It is stated in Lord Campbell's life that he and several other learned lords sat up the greater part of the night trying to frame a definition of murder, and failed. If they aimed at a definition which should reproduce the absurdities of English law, the loss of their time and trouble was a very small penalty for the attempt. A system which

makes it murder to kill a man by accident while trying to shoot his fowl, while it would be only manslaughter if the gun had been pointed at a pheasant, deserves to be abolished, not to be defined. No such subtleties are to be found in the Indian Penal Code. Putting aside the cases in which killing is wholly or partially excusable, the degrees of homicide depend upon the degree to which the offender intended to cause death, or had reasonable ground to suppose that his act would cause death. If he had no such intention or knowledge, the act which results in the death of another may be punishable in various other ways, but it is not culpable homicide.

For some reason, which Mr. Stokes does not explain, more than a quarter of a century elapsed between the drafting of the Penal Code and its becoming law. After this matters began to move more rapidly. The next of the great codes of substantive law was the Indian Succession Act, 1865. It applies to all persons domiciled in India, not being Hindus, Muhammedans, or Buddhists; it supplies them with a complete body of law governing succession to the property of a deceased man, whether testamentary or *ab intestato*. It lays down rules for domicile, for the execution and revocation of wills, for the appointment and duties of executors and administrators, for the construction of wills, the effect to be given to legacies and donations *mortis causâ*, and generally contains in 332 sections everything for which an English lawyer has to consult the massive volumes of Williams on Executors, or Jarman on Wills. On a hasty examination the Code appears to be merely a digest of such works as the above. But a more careful scrutiny shows that many important changes have been introduced, some of which are at the present moment impending in England, while some have already taken effect. All distinction between the devolution of real and personal property is abolished. Marriage is to give the husband no rights over the property of his wife. Entails are forbidden by s. 34, and by s. 100, "Where a bequest is made to a person, not

in existence at the time of the testator's death, subject to a prior bequest contained in the will, the later bequest shall be void, unless it comprises the whole of the remaining interest of the testator in the thing bequeathed." All directions for accumulation are absolutely void, except in the case of immovable property, when one year's income from the death of the testator may be accumulated before distribution. S. 42 expressly repeals as regards India the provision of the English statute of distributions, which requires any advancement made to a child by its parent to be taken into account in estimating its share under an intestacy. There seems, however, to be no notice taken of the analogous rule, created by some of the early equity judges, and lamented by all who have succeeded them, that any legacy given by a father to a child is supposed to be by way of portion, and that any advancement subsequently given by the father to the child is considered to be in lieu of the legacy, and to satisfy it. It is difficult to say whether s. 87 was or was not intended to reproduce the English rules as to the cases under which a bequest to "children" may operate in favour of illegitimate children. The difficulty is increased by the fact that the section and its illustrations appear to be at variance with each other. The section states that in the absence of any intimation to the contrary in the will, a term indicating relationship is to denote legitimate relations, or where there is no such legitimate relation, a person who has acquired at the date of the will, the reputation of being such relative. Apparently then a bequest to the child of A can only take effect in favour of one who is his legitimate child, or who has acquired the reputation of being his legitimate child. As for instance, the daughter whose vicissitudes of fortune Mr. Wilkie Collins traces in "No Name." But the illustrations say that any one who has acquired the reputation of being the child of A may take. In the great majority of cases the illegitimate child of a man by a permanent and openly kept mistress does acquire the reputation of being

his child, but his illegitimate child. When the bequest is to the child of an unmarried woman this is invariably the case. Do the illustrations show that in the section the words "such relative" mean a relative of such degree, whether legitimate or illegitimate?

The wills of Hindus were left in a very unsatisfactory state after the Indian Succession Act. The law of the Koran recognized and regulated Muhammedan wills. The practice of testation had grown up among Hindus during the last century. Whether they borrowed the practice from Europeans and Muhammedans, or whether it was the development of principles in their own law, or whether it grew up, as the practice always does grow up, from the possession of separate and independent property, are questions upon which a large difference of opinion exists. Whatever the origin of the practice may have been, the practice itself was thoroughly established more than a hundred years ago. Our legislatures refused to interfere with such wills. Our Courts properly refused to apply English doctrines to them; and as no native language possessed even a word signifying a will, there was no direct native authority on the subject. Some rules of Hindu law were applied to them by analogy. It was held that the owner of joint property could not devise his share, since it passed by survivorship to the other joint-owners before the devise could operate. It was held that no will was valid which suspended the ownership of property, or which bequeathed it to a person not in existence at the death of the testator, or which established a rule of succession different from that of the ordinary Hindu law. On the other hand, it was held that any mode by which a Hindu intimated his wish as to the disposition of his property after his death was a valid will. A paper unsigned and unattested; a letter to an official; a whispered utterance on his deathbed were all equally effective. Again, Hindus who were familiar with European habits frequently appointed executors, and the Courts of the Presidency towns granted

probate of wills affecting property within their limits. But there was no mode of taking out probate beyond the limits of the Presidency towns, and when probate was taken out the Courts held that it did not vest the testator's property in the executors, or confer upon them any powers except such as were expressly given to them by the will. Hence it was almost impossible to deal safely with landed property governed by a will. The law threw doubts upon the power of the executors, and the will threw doubts upon the powers of the heirs at law.

Some of these evils were remedied by the Hindu Wills Act, 1870. So far as it applied, it extended to the wills of Hindus the larger part of those sections of the Indian Succession Act, which regulated the making and revocation of wills, and which furnished rules for their construction, and for the effect to be given to legacies. But it refrained from declaring that the executor was for all purposes the legal representative of the deceased, or that the property of the deceased vested in him. Further, it only applied to wills made in, or affecting immovable property situated in Bengal, or the towns of Madras or Bombay. All other wills were left in their pristine state of chaos.

A further attempt was made by the Probate and Administration Act, 1881. It applied to all wills made in British India which did not come within the operation of the Indian Succession Act, 1865. For these it provided a number of rules, mostly copied from that Act, relating to probate, duties of executors, &c. It expressly vested in executors the property of the deceased, and defined their powers in regard to such property. But it refrained from making it compulsory on executors to take out probate, and, except in cases coming within the Hindu Wills Act, 1870, the local courts were prohibited from granting probate unless authorized to do so by a special notification of the Local Government. This notification has been withheld over the greater part of India, with the result, as the editor remarks, that the property of the testator is vested in

persons who cannot obtain probate of his will. Mr. Stokes offers an ingenious bribe to quicken the action of the Local Governments, by pointing out that the fees payable on probate would form an important source of revenue, and would be a sort of rudimentary tax on successions. It is to be hoped that this *argumentum ad crumenam* may induce the subordinate governments to avail themselves more largely of a very useful and valuable Act.

The Contract Act, 1872, and the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881, codify the respective branches of law to which they refer. The former Act is not considered in India to be a success. It was drawn in England by the Indian Law Commissioners, and some of the provisions as framed by them were so opposed to the feeling of the authorities in India, that they refused to accept them. Upon this the Commissioners resigned, and the Bill was passed without the obnoxious clauses. It seems to have been equally unhappy in its original and adoptive parents. Mr. Stokes says, "Unfortunately it had been sent out to India in a very crude form; it never underwent the patient penetrating revision by a skilled draughtsman necessary in the case of such a measure; and though the Indian judges have loyally endeavoured to give effect to its provisions, these are so incomplete and sometimes so inaccurately worded, that the time seems to have come for repealing the Act, and re-enacting it with the amendments in arrangement, wording, and substance, suggested by the cases decided upon it during the last fourteen years."

The Indian Easements Act, 1882, is, for some reason unexplained by its author, only applicable to Madras and Coorg. It seems to have originated upon representations as to the necessity for such a Code coming from almost every other part of India. In India usage is everything, and the requirements of Indian society give rise to many usages which involve the exercise of rights over the property of others. For purposes of agriculture it is necessary to enforce the flow of water from the land of any upper to that

of a lower proprietor. In periods of drought a right of pasturage has been exercised at a distance of one hundred miles from the residence of the owner of the cattle. In districts destitute of roads the right of private way is of the greatest importance. In Calcutta most difficult questions arise as to the right of sweepers, the lowest of outcasts, to pass over private property in order to gain access to houses for sanitary purposes. A curious case of this sort occupied the Privy Council not long since. One of the necessities of Indian life has raised a point which, though not strictly part of the law of easements, hovers on the borders of it. It is well known that for the purpose of storing water it is usual in India to construct reservoirs of immense size, in which the water is detained by a bank or barrier. Occasionally in heavy rains this barrier bursts, and the flood which escapes does immense harm. In England it is settled by the well-known case of *Fletcher v. Rylands*, that any one who collects water upon his property does so at his own risk, and that, if it escapes, he cannot excuse himself by showing that he had taken every reasonable and proper precaution to keep it within bounds. In India the Madras Railway Company brought an action against the Carvaitnugger Zemindar for damage done to their line in consequence of the breaching of a great tank upon his estate during a storm. The Courts refused to apply the English doctrine to the case. They held that the existence and maintenance of these reservoirs was by the usage of the country a public duty and a public benefit, and that where proper precautions had been taken, the public must submit to any injury that might follow, if in cases of extraordinary pressure the precautions proved insufficient.

Mr. Stokes points to a few instances in which the Indian Code differs from the English law. He says: "That an easement to restrain interference with privacy is recognized by the Act, and is a negative easement. Such an easement, founded as it is on the Oriental custom of

secluding females, is of much importance in India." For this statement he relies on illustration (d) to section 5. When we turn to this section we find it laid down, that a non-apparent easement is one the existence of which is not shown by any permanent sign, which, upon careful inspection by a competent person, would be visible to him. Then follows illustration (d): "A right annexed to A's house to prevent B from building on his own land. This is a non-apparent easement." Where is there anything in all this about a right to privacy? We are not told how a right can be annexed to A's house so as to prevent B from building on his land. When we turn to section 15, which shows what easements can be obtained by prescription, we find that a free access to light or air may be so obtained. The result of such an easement would be to prevent B erecting any building which would interfere with the right of A. If the right of privacy can be an easement, why can it not be obtained by prescription? and if it can be obtained by prescription, why is it not alluded to in section 15? The right to air is alluded to, because it is a new right, created for the first time by statute. It is admitted that, except for the statute, no right of privacy exists, and, with all respect for Mr. Stokes, we venture to think that there is no such right now.

In the same year, 1882, two other great Codes were passed, the Transfer of Property Act, and the Trusts Act. The former contains a number of general provisions applicable to all transfers, with minute details as to the law of Sales, Mortgages, Leases, Gifts, and Exchanges. It reproduces the rules of the Succession Act, forbidding accumulations, and requiring that any interest created for the benefit of an unborn person, subject to a prior interest created by the same transfer, must extend to the whole of the remaining interest of the transfer in the property. Curiously enough, however, there is no section in the Act similar to section 84 of the Succession Act, by which entails are distinctly forbidden. It has been suggested that the

same result is indirectly obtained by implication from other sections, and we are far from saying that it is not so, but it is unfortunate that so important a matter should be open to any doubt.

The policy of the Indian legislature for many years has been steadily in favour of requiring registration of all documents affecting immovable property. This policy is farther extended by the Act under consideration. Registration under the Indian Acts, however, has nothing in common with the system of registration in force in Australia, and so earnestly advocated for England. Documents, not titles, are registered in India. There is nothing in India answering to our complicated system of family settlement, under which no one is absolute owner of an estate, and it is difficult to say in whose hands the fragments are vested. Estates are often heavily mortgaged, but, subject to incumbrances, and to the difficulties always attendant upon joint ownership, the title is generally clear enough. What is required is to be able to trace the successive hands into which property passes, sometimes by peculiarly fraudulent transfers, and to check the piling up of charges upon the land. This is effected by requiring all but the most trivial transactions affecting land to be publicly registered, and copied into the books of the registry office of the district in which the property lies. The entry upon the register is very strong evidence of the genuineness of the transaction, but it offers no guarantee for its validity. It does not profess to contain the title, but it furnishes very good materials to the inquirer who is interested in ascertaining what the title is. The dealing shown on the register may be thoroughly fictitious, but it cannot be secret.

In his introduction to the Trusts Act, Mr. Stokes says : "Trusts, in the strict sense in which that term is used by English lawyers, that is to say, confidences to the existence of which a double ownership, a 'legal,' and an 'equitable' estate, are necessary, are unknown to Hindu and Muhammedan law. But trusts in the wider sense of the word,

that is to say, obligations annexed to the ownership of property which arise out of a confidence reposed in and accepted by the owner for the benefit of another, are constantly created by the natives of India, and are frequently enforced by our Courts." Farther on Mr. Stokes says: "To prevent the introduction into the Mufassal of conceptions resembling the English legal estate and equitable ownership, the 'beneficial interest' of the beneficiary is defined as 'his right against the trustee as owner of the trust property.' Under the Act the beneficiary has no estate or interest in the subject matter of the trust." Now all this appears to us to be merely elaborate make-believe. It is idle to say, in any but a non-natural sense, that the beneficiary has no estate or interest in a property, when he is entitled to its rents and profits, when he can call for its accounts and inspect its documents, when under certain circumstances he is entitled to require that it should be conveyed to him and its title deeds handed over, and when all these privileges can be sold or devised, and will pass to his heir. If this does not constitute equitable ownership, it is exactly the same as what passes by that name in England. With some very slight modifications, the Indian Trusts Act is precisely the same body of law as has been administered for centuries in Lincoln's Inn. The terms legal and equitable ownership were merely phrases, to indicate that the rights of a *cestui que trust* and the duties of a trustee were recognized by Courts of Equity, and were not recognized by Courts of law. Equitable ownership was simply that body of rights which the Chancellor enforced, and which the Chief Justice ignored. If so-called legal and equitable rights had been dealt with by the same courts, the phrases would never have been needed and would never have been used.

The last Code in this volume, and one of the most useful, is the Specific Relief Act, 1877, which was drawn by Mr. Stokes, though Mr. (now Lord) Hobhouse is officially responsible for it. This Code embodies all the rules

which provide for the recovery of property *in specie*, for specific performance, for the rescission of contracts, for the rectification and cancellation of documents, for declaratory decrees, for the appointment of receivers, and for mandamus or the enforcement of public duties. In general, it follows the principles of English law. In some respects it varies from them, and always in our opinion for the better. One very valuable change is the abrogation of the rule of English practice, that a declaratory decree can only be granted when it can be followed by consequential relief. In India especially, the most important relief that can be granted is a declaration that a right, which a man apparently possesses, is really his. India is, above all other countries in the world, the land of sham claims and sham suits. A man who covets the property of another does not openly seize or sue for it. He begins by ventilating a title which the real owner has not the opportunity of resisting. He sets up sham trespassers to make sham encroachments, and recover sham penalties against them. He executes sham leases to sham tenants, grants them sham receipts for sham rent, and recovers sham arrears in sham suits. He pretends to borrow money upon sham mortgages of portions of the property, and registers the mortgage deeds in the district registry. When he has in this way framed a web of false evidence, he makes his stroke some day in the form of a suit for possession, and possibly wins his case against the rightful owner, whose possession is so old that he has no title-deeds. A conspiracy like this can only be effectually defeated by an early suit to declare where the title lies. No such suit can be brought by a mere heir presumptive, on the ground that when the succession falls in he may not be the next heir, and therefore his action is thrown away. But it seems to us that even such a suit ought to be admissible, where the real question to be decided is not the title of the heir presumptive, but of some one claiming against the whole world under the person in possession. An instance of the sort occurred in one of

the many suits brought in regard to the Shivaganga Zemindary in Southern India. There a female heir was rightfully in possession, and set up the pretension that after her death the Zemindary would pass to her son, in preference to one who was a nearer heir to the last male holder. Incumbrances were being created on the faith of this pretension, and for the benefit of all parties it was advantageous that the question should be settled at once. The true heir brought his suit for a declaratory decree, and got a decree on the merits in his favour in the Madras Courts. This was set aside in the Privy Council, on the principle that as the plaintiff was only contingent heir the suit was premature. When the female Zemindar died a few days after, the whole litigation had to begin again. The curious thing is, that if the female Zemindar had made an invalid adoption or an invalid sale, the suit by the same plaintiff would have been unobjectionable.

In regard to specific performance the Code follows the rule of English law, that no specific performance will be ordered of a contract which is dependent on the personal qualifications or volition of the parties. A remarkable instance of this rule was the well-known case where a *prima donna*, having engaged to sing for one opera-house, broke her contract and engaged to sing for another. The Court forbid her to sing in Covent Garden, but refused to order her to sing in the Haymarket. The result was that the British public never heard a note of Miss Johanna Wagner's voice. The theory of the rule is, that the Court will not order a defendant to do at all that which it cannot compel him to do well. But surely the plaintiff is the best judge as to whether it is worth his while to get the order. If Miss Wagner had been compelled to carry out her contract with Mr. Lumley, there can be no doubt she would have sung and acted her very best. It is believed that such distinctions are unknown in France, and that a French judge would find no difficulty in directing an artist to paint a picture, an author to write a novel, or an oculist to couch

for a cataract. Notwithstanding the old proverb, if you take a horse to a well, he is pretty certain to drink.

It would be of course impossible within the limits of a magazine article to offer any detailed examination of these Codes, or even to give an outline of their contents. An obvious criticism as to several of them is that they appear too advanced for the society for which they are intended. Certainly the minuteness of their provisions, and the elaborateness of their language, presents a remarkable contrast to the bald and meagre provisions of the French Codes. Probably a large number of the sections in each Act may hardly ever come into use. But those which are wanted will not be less serviceable from the presence of others that are not employed. The very fulness and detail of the Codes make them invaluable as a source of teaching for the practitioner and the judges. In any case, if we compare India with the Codes and India without them, the difference is simply between an empire with law and an empire without.

When we consider these Codes in reference to their authors; when we reflect that this massive monument of law has been built up in little more than a quarter of a century by a legislature, whose very existence is unknown to many well-educated persons; that the men who planned and drafted these Codes, who discussed, amended, and passed them, are almost unknown in England even by name; and when we think of the barren and impotent results of our Parliament, with its world-famed statesmen and eloquent orators, words rise to our lips which might be considered sacrilegious by those who make an idol of representative institutions. For upwards of twelve years our ablest lawyers have occupied themselves in preparing a Code for England which should answer to the Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code of India. We are no nearer passing it now than we were ten years ago. Probably further, as the hopelessness of the attempt has been made apparent. The reasons for all this are obvious, though

rather humiliating to ourselves. Great codes of harmonious and coherent law pass through the Indian Legislature, because it is a body of manageable size; because every measure will be taken up by some members who are experts upon the subject, and because those who are not experts do not pretend to be such; because every one is anxious to see a good Bill turned into a good Act, and no one is interested in preventing it; because there are no constituencies to be pleased by delaying or mutilating a measure, and because successful opposition is its own reward, as there is no other; because, finally and principally, the legislature is a legislative body and nothing else.

No project of law is ever determined on till it has been the subject of exhaustive discussion in the executive departments. The Bill is introduced with a statement of objects and reasons, and both Bill and statement are published, and circulated to the local governments, the judges, the heads of departments, and all private persons whose opinion is worth having. It is then referred to a Select Committee, whose members consider all the criticisms which have been offered, and go through the Bill clause by clause, and line by line. When it comes from their hands it is again published, and criticisms are again invited. Finally it is passed by the full Council, who in general accept it with little alteration except such as is suggested by the members of the Select Committee themselves. The Legislative Council is certainly a limited, and in no sense a representative, body. But no great measure is ever passed by it, until every sentence has received a searching examination from every one in India who represents any special knowledge of, or interest in, the question, nor until every objection offered has received a candid and thorough consideration.

It would be invidious to paint another picture, and to speculate on the sort of treatment the Penal Code would meet with in Committee of the whole House, when

twenty different bands of fadmongers would wage war to the knife against every portion of the Bill on different grounds. It is sufficient to say that no great measure can possibly pass through the House of Commons, the greater part of whose time is given up to matters distinct from legislation, and which persists in commencing the whole of its work anew every session, and in ignoring all that it has done before. A certain class of persons are already beginning to complain that the blessing of representative government has been withheld from the people of India. Let them console themselves with the reflection that a capacity for useful legislation has been given in its place.

JOHN D. MAYNE.

FOREST SERVICE IN INDIA.

My early* connection with Forest Conservancy in India leads to my being so often asked by old friends about the general life, duties, and prospects of a forest officer, that

* The reader will like to know the details of the early history of the Forestry Department in India, and the share which the author of this paper had in the great enterprise. These cannot be told better than in the following extract from Mr. Clement Markham's "Moral and Material Progress of India for 1872-73," published as a Parliamentary Blue Book in June, 1874, p. 90 :—

"The urgency of adopting measures for forest conservancy in India has been very gradually perceived. In 1846 a department was organized in the Bombay Presidency under Dr. Gibson, mainly with a view to ensuring supplies of timber for the dockyard. In the following year the question of forest conservancy was first raised in the Madras Presidency. General Frederick Cotton in 1847 pressed the necessity of taking some steps to preserve the forests on the attention of the Madras Government. They were at that time being rapidly denuded of timber by the Malabar merchants who supplied the Bombay market. These men, having access to the neighbouring private forests of Cochin and of the Kolungode Numbidy, had the free run of the Annamillay hills, which were then almost unexplored. General Cotton was Executive Engineer in Malabar, and he asked for Lieutenant (now Colonel) Michael as his assistant, who commenced exploring, conserving, and working the Government forests. In 1848 the Kolungode Numbidy was induced to lease his forest for sixteen years, a lease which has since been renewed in perpetuity. At the same time all the minor leases were bought from the Malabar timber merchants, so that the door being once shut, conservancy and systematic working of the forests became practicable. Between 1848 and 1853 such results were attained as to be appreciated by the Government of Madras. In 1853 General Cotton withdrew from the superintendence, and Colonel Michael was placed under the Collector of Malabar and Coimbatne. On March 29th, 1854, the Court of Directors sent out a despatch in the Financial Department, justly recognizing the success of the work, but in 1855, seven years' service in forest pioneering told upon Colonel Michael, and he was obliged to give up the appointment. By that time the importance of forest con-

it may serve a good end if I briefly describe them here. Assuming that a parent chooses India as the country in which he wishes his son to gain a livelihood for himself, and that the lad likes the idea, has a good constitution, and has had the average education of a gentleman, it may safely be said that he will do for the Forest Department, and the first point of consideration is as to the steps which he must take to qualify for this special service.

The Secretary of State for India notifies annually that a certain number of probationers (usually about ten) will be selected to undergo a special training to fit them for admission to the Forest Service of India. An applicant must be a natural born British subject, above seventeen and under twenty-one years of age, and unmarried. A competitive examination is held once a year, and any person desirous of competing must send to the Revenue Department of the India Office by a date, duly notified in the public newspapers, his name and parentage, a certificate or other satisfactory evidence of the date of his birth, and a statement of consent from parent or guardian. He must state the places of education at which he has been since he was nine years old, accompanied by testimonials of good conduct during the last four years. He must also pay a fee of £4.

He will then have to appear before a Medical Board at the India Office. Particular stress will be laid upon good vision and hearing, and means will be taken to test physical powers of endurance, so as to ensure the selection of persons of active habits and sound constitution. He will

servancy had become apparent, and Dr. Cleghorn succeeded Colonel Michael, and became Conservator of Forests in the Madras Presidency. Dr. Brandis arrived in British Burmah in the same year. Dr. Cleghorn not only continued the work of Colonel Michael in Madras, but also laid the foundation of forest administration in the Punjab, and was subsequently associated with Dr. Brandis in organizing the Forest Department in the Bengal Presidency. His great scientific acquirements were combined with judgment and tact, through which he succeeded in extending the operations of the Department in the Madras Presidency over twenty forest ranges before his final retirement in 1867. In 1864 Dr. Brandis was appointed Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India."--ED. A. Q. R.

next have to pass an examination in certain subjects, which, with the marks assigned thereto, are detailed below.*

The subjects given in the footnote are compulsory; but additional marks may be obtained in the following optional subjects :—

Translation into French or German, the language being the same as that taken up as a compulsory subject	...	...	...	...	200
Freehand Drawing	...	...	...	...	300
Elements of Geology and Mineralogy	...	...	...	...	300

From competitors who attain the required amount of marks, and satisfy the requisite conditions in other respects, the Secretary of State selects those whom he may deem best adapted to the service.

Candidates so selected undergo a course of training extending over two years and two months. During the first twenty-two months, commencing with the annual session, which begins in September, they prosecute their

				MAXIMUM.	MINIMUM
*(1) Orthography	...	...	...	300	150
(2) Handwriting	...	...	...	200	100
(3) English Composition	...	...	...	200	67
(4) Intelligence	...	...	...	100	—
(5) Arithmetic in all its branches	...	...	...	300	100
(6) Geometry, including first to fourth and sixth Books of Euclid	...	...	...	300	100
(7) Algebra, up to and including Binomial Theorem, Arithmetical and Geometrical Series, Interest and Annuities	...	...	...	300	100
(8) Logarithms, including use of Tables	...	...	...	100	33
(9) Plane Trigonometry, up to and including Solution of Plane Triangles, and Calculation of Heights and Distances	...	...	...	300	100
(10) Mensuration	...	...	...	100	33
(11) Elements of Mechanics	...	...	...	300	75
(12) Elements of Physics, omitting Electricity and Magnetism	...	...	...	300	75
(13) Inorganic Chemistry	...	...	...	400	133
(14) Mechanical drawing of Geometrical Figures (limited to the drawing of Plane Figures)	...	...	...	400	80
(15) Elements of Botany	...	...	...	400	100
(16) French or German { Translation	...	...	...	200	67
Oral	...	...	...	200	33

studies at Cooper's Hill College, where arrangements have been made for their instruction in forestry and in the necessary auxiliary sciences. During the last four months the candidates are instructed, under suitable supervision, in English or continental forests. Short tours are also made during part of the college vacations. The entire expense of the tours and of the practical instruction is defrayed by the Secretary of State for India.

An annual charge of £180 is made for each student. These college fees include all charges for tuition, board, and lodging, with washing, but not medical attendance. Students are required to provide their own class books and drawing instruments. Drawing paper, drawing boards, and surveying instruments are provided.

A student will be required to conform to the college rules, to exhibit due diligence in his studies throughout his course, and to give evidence of satisfactory progress, failing which, or in the event of serious personal misconduct, he will not be allowed to remain.

Before leaving, he will further be required to satisfy the president that he can ride—a very wholesome regulation, for most of a forest officer's duties and journeys are necessarily performed on horseback.

The Royal Indian Engineering College is situated at Cooper's Hill, Englefield Green, near Egham, in the county of Surrey, and is primarily maintained under the control of the Secretary of State for India for the education of candidates for the service of Government in the Indian Public Works, Telegraph and Forest Departments. There are three terms a year with vacations of five weeks at Christmas, two at Easter, and eight weeks in the summer. The president is Sir Alexander Taylor, K.C.B., R.E., who is aided by a large staff of professors. The number of students generally at the college is 120 or 130. Those who have passed the competitive examination for the Forest Department are secure of their appointment to the service if only they

do not by idleness or misconduct fail to qualify. The special subjects to be taken up after entering the college, are Entomology, Botany, and Forestry.

Cooper's Hill with the land attached to it, including a farm, extends over about 120 acres. The house is a very fine building replete with every comfort, situated in most beautiful grounds in the immediate vicinity of Windsor Park and the Thames Valley, and is in all respects the *beau idéal* of a pleasant college residence. All kinds of manly exercises are encouraged out of lecture hours, and it is difficult to conceive a more attractive place for a youth just emancipated from schoolboy life.

The efficiency of students is tested by periodical examinations, and on the termination of their studies there is a final examination, when in the event of a satisfactory verdict, and provided the Medical Board give a certificate as to health, candidates will be nominated Junior Assistant Conservators, their seniority being regulated by the results of all the above examinations combined.

Within a month of his nomination as Junior Assistant, the nominee must sign articles of agreement describing the terms and conditions of his appointment, and he must embark for India when required to do so, the Secretary of State providing for the expenses of his passage. Finally it is ruled that he must not marry before leaving for India.

The pay of the Forest Service is shown in a footnote,* that of a Junior Assistant Conservator (Rs. 250 per mensem) commences from the date of arrival in India.

			Rs. per mensem
* Inspector-General of Forests	1,700	to	2,000
	1st Grade	...	1,500
Conservators of Forests ...	2nd "	...	1,250
	3rd "	...	1,000
	1st Grade	...	900
Deputy Conservators of Forests	2nd "	...	800
	3rd "	...	650
	4th "	...	550
	1st Grade	...	450
Assistant Conservators of Forests	2nd "	...	350
	3rd "	...	250

Presuming that a student has completed his two years creditably, and has thoroughly enjoyed his tour on the Continent, he now receives his appointment of Junior Assistant Conservator of Forests. After a short leave of absence he embarks for India, and on reaching his destination he is at once drafted off to active duties. If he take with him a good serviceable outfit of clothes, a saddle and bridle, a gun, &c., and a small sum of money, sufficient to provide him with a horse or pony and a tent, so as to start him fairly with his camp kit, the pay which he will receive on landing, viz. 250 rupees a month, will be sufficient for his wants, and he should be able to make both ends meet without further pecuniary assistance.

The life on which he now enters is one which can hardly fail to be enjoyable to most English youths. His social status is good, his duties are highly interesting, and he at once finds himself in a position of some importance and responsibility. Felling, planting, or thinning operations may be going on in his circle, in which case he will have the supervision of large bodies of labourers and contractors employed on the work. Plantations or fuel reserves may be in course of preparation and the delineation of their boundaries, their survey, &c., will form part of his duties. And here he will find many important questions affecting the communal rights and interests of the inhabitants committed to his careful consideration. He will have to study the Indian Forest Acts, which require judicious handling or they become oppressive. All this is out-of-door work, and here let it be remarked that the life of a forest officer in these days need no longer be dreaded as one of danger, as it formerly was. All jungles have their healthy and unhealthy seasons, and these have been carefully studied and are now quite well known. The Government do not expect or wish their officers to visit forests at unsafe times, and consequently it is a rare thing nowadays to hear of men suffering from jungle fever to the extent to which the

pioneers of forestry in India were liable through ignorance of the seasons at which the various tracts could be safely visited. A young forester may at times be stationed at places where he will have to put up with a good deal of solitude during his working season, but in this respect also his lot compares very favourably with that of his predecessors. I can remember a time when I did not see a white face for four or five months, but good roads and railways have produced great changes, and it is seldom nowadays that a civilian or departmental officer is located so far out of reach that he is unable to pay occasional visits to a military or civil station where he can enjoy society, go to church, or obtain medical advice if he need it, or books and periodicals from the local book club. Whenever his duties will admit of it, he has ample scope for amusement. If he be a sportsman, as nearly all foresters are, or soon become, no one has a better field before him. His work naturally leads him into the haunts of big and small game.

He carries his gun and rifle with him as a matter of course, just as he does his note-book and prismatic compass, and he enjoys his shooting all the more from the feeling that it comes to him in the course of his work and tours of inspection, and does not interfere with either. The game he may meet with will vary according to the district in which he is employed. In one place it may be elephant, tiger, bison, and deer; and in another, snipe, quail, partridge, and ducks. If he be a botanist at heart, as well as in practice, who has better opportunities than he? Or if a draughtsman or an observer of natural history, he has every possible inducement to improve himself, and to indulge his taste to his heart's content. Camp life in India is always enjoyable to a young and healthy man, and a forest officer's tours are sure to lead him into beautiful scenery, and often into hill tracts where the climate is delightful and invigorating. He will also have duties in the plains where the scenery and climate render camp life less

pleasant ; but he must take the one with the other and make the most of his hill trips. My own experience leads me to say that a forester's time seldom hangs heavy on his hands ; he has sufficient occupation as a matter of duty, and at the same time plenty of opportunity for recreation and study.

The conditions and peculiarities of the tribes inhabiting jungle tracts afford an unfailing subject of profitable and interesting investigation. In all remote jungles there are remnants of an aboriginal race of men of more or less exceptional habits, customs, and ideas differing from those of the low country people within a few miles of them. These are well worthy of study and sympathy. Let me give an experience of my own.

When I was commencing forest operations in the Annamullay Hills, which lie a little south of the Nilghiris, and were then quite unexplored, I met with a tribe known as "Kaders," numbering about two hundred or three hundred souls only. When I first became acquainted with them, many of them had never seen a European, and had had very little communication even with the natives of the low country. I found them a simple, quiet people, remarkably truthful and good-natured, scattered in small communities consisting of about half-a-dozen families in each group, over a limited area of the hills.

They were almost entirely independent of the outside world, as they could subsist for a great part of the year on roots and fruits of various kinds, and other spontaneous productions of their jungles. They obtained luxuries, such as rice and other grains, salt, tobacco, coarse cotton cloths, &c., by barter from low-country traders in exchange for honey, wax, ginger, cardamoms, turmeric, black pepper, dammer, frankincense, and other indigenous hill products, and occasionally ivory. They have never intermarried with other hill or low country people, and they still retain unmistakable traces of African origin, not only in their features, but in other respects. Their hair is woolly, their lips thick, noses flat, and the males maintain a custom to this

day of filing the front teeth into sharp points. Their ordinary language is a mixed patois of Tamil and Malayalam, but in speaking among themselves they have many words of their own, and jerk them out with a peculiar abrupt intonation very unlike that of any other natives of India. It seems quite probable that they are the descendants of Africans who came to the coast of India in King Solomon's ships to take back "almug-trees" (? sandal-wood), "gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks."

They are very clever with the axe and billhook, and are particularly adept in utilizing the bamboo. Their huts are entirely built with it, neatly thatched with the broad leaf of the teak-tree. Their baskets, mats, bows and arrows, and even the bow-string, are made of bamboo, and when his last earthen pot is broken, a Kader can cook his rice in a joint of the large green bamboo.

Although very fond of meat when they can get it, they are not great hunters or snarers of game, but as they are accustomed to the sight of all sorts of wild animals, and know their habits thoroughly, they make excellent and trustworthy shikarees. Their power of following a track is something marvellous. Once when a tigress killed one of my ponies at my forest hut during the night, a Kader took up her footprints at six o'clock in the morning, and we followed her steadily, never losing the track over the most difficult ground, till three in the afternoon, when I shot her. We naturally went slowly, and circled about a good deal, but we had gone many miles from home before we came up with her. Any one who knows how faint a track the soft paw of a tiger leaves on hard and stony ground will be able to appreciate this feat.

Shortly after my arrival among them, and after I had gained their confidence, I found that the Kaders were in a state of thralldom, amounting to semi-slavery, in consequence of a system, which had existed from time immemorial, under which some well-to-do low-country trader purchased from Government for a fixed annual payment the sole right

of barter with the hill people. Such simple folk soon fell into debt, and the contractor was then in a position to force them to part with their produce at any arbitrary rates he chose to fix.

When I had collected sufficient data to put this matter before Government, the monopoly system was abolished, and the Kaders were made free to trade with any one who wished to deal with them. They soon got fairer prices for their hill produce, and as the contractors had no longer a hold on them, I was able to take a good many of them into regular employment, as guides and watchers, and give them work for which they were specially fitted, such as clearing the brushwood around saplings before the fire season, building huts for the workmen, making elephant ropes, &c.

I must, however, revert to the young forester's prospects.

Promotion, leave, and pension are regulated by rules for the time being, and are subject to variation, but an officer will not be eligible for promotion or increase of pay until he has passed an examination in such native language as the authorities may prescribe. Therefore one of the first things which an assistant conservator must take up is the study of the vernacular language of his district not only to qualify himself for promotion, but to enable him to perform his duties with efficiency. This obligation will be constantly impressed upon him by his departmental superiors, by whom every facility will be given, and it will be his own fault if he does not pass his examination within a reasonable time.

Assuming that he passes, shows aptitude for his work, has ordinary intelligence, maintains a good character, and, last but not least, shows a kindly feeling towards his subordinates and for the natives generally with whom he is brought in contact, his promotion is assured, and he may hope in due course to reach the higher posts in his department.

* The rules under which leave can be taken in or out of India are the same as those which govern the Uncovenanted

Service generally. A month's privilege or recreation leave can be obtained in each year, and this is cumulative to the extent of three months, that is to say, if no leave at all be taken for two years and nine months, a holiday of three months may be had on full pay, which admits of a visit to England, and in these days of rapid travelling about six weeks of the leave may be spent at home. This privilege leave does not tell against an officer's claim for longer leave when he has earned it by the requisite amount of service or requires it on account of ill-health. After ten years' service he can obtain a year's leave on private affairs to England or elsewhere on half the pay he may be drawing, and again in eight years he can have another year, and so on. Leave on medical certificate is granted at any time that an officer may require it, even though the length of his service does not entitle him to leave on private affairs. Such leave can only be obtained twice.

The retiring pension rules provide for all contingencies. If on account of ill-health, or from other causes, an officer be compulsorily retired before he has completed fifteen years' service he is granted a gratuity not exceeding one year's pay; if he has served more than fifteen, and less than twenty-five years, he receives a pension not exceeding one-third of his average emoluments during the last five years of his service, but the total pension will not exceed 3,000 rupees a year. If he has served more than twenty-five years he is entitled to a pension amounting to one-half of his average emoluments, but not exceeding 5,000 rupees a year. This latter rate of pension is awarded to an officer who voluntarily retires after thirty years' service.

It will thus be seen that although the Forest Service does not hold out brilliant prospects such as those of the Civil and Political Services of India, it offers to a youth who is obliged to fend for himself in the world, without private income or capital, a fair means of livelihood, with the certainty of gaining, after the age of fifty, the rate

of retiring pension given to the Uncovenanted Service generally.

On reading over what I have written in this brief paper it strikes me that I have put a good deal of *couleur de rose* into my sketch of a forester's life, but I can honestly say that I look back with the greatest satisfaction on the seven or eight years which I spent in striving to initiate conservancy in India. Some of the happiest and most profitable years of my life were passed in those early efforts, and I think that if I had to begin an Indian life again, and could not get into the Civil Service or the army, I would choose that of a forest officer.

Apart from the free open-air character of its duties, the service is now one to which a man may be proud of belonging. It confers vast benefits on the country, and is attracting to its ranks a good, energetic stamp of men. The late acquisitions of territory in Burmah open out a new and extensive field—vast forests will now come into the care of the State, and a considerable increase of the Forest Department will be needed.

It is just forty years ago that the Indian Government first awoke to the necessity of taking energetic measures for the conservancy of their forests which had been so long neglected, and which were being rapidly exterminated in places where their preservation was of vital importance, not only in view to future supplies of timber and fuel, but with regard to their influence on the rainfall.

One of the first things done in the direction of conservancy was to put a stop to a pernicious and destructive system of cultivation which prevailed more or less all along the Western Ghats known as "Coomri." The inhabitants of the Hill slopes were in the habit of clearing patches, often of many acres in extent, of primeval forest and burning it, after which a crop of coarse grain or millet was sown—one crop only being taken off the ground—the plot was then abandoned, and a dense, tangled, overgrowth sprung up, and the following year a fresh spot was operated on in

a similar manner. The extent of fine forest thus destroyed was enormous, and to this day large patches of impenetrable jungle without a single timber tree in it may be seen on the slopes of the mountain ranges extending from North Canara to Cape Comorin, marking the places where Coomri was carried on in bygone times.

A small experimental establishment, of which I had charge, was organized in the south of the Madras Presidency as a tentative measure in 1848, and within eight years afterwards the inauguration of a regular Forest Department was sanctioned to which no equal in extent or efficiency now exists in the world. In the short space of forty years practical and scientific forestry has spread throughout India and British Burmah, and the good example has been largely followed in our Colonies. A revenue of more than £300,000 a year has been created where formerly none at all existed. This handsome addition to the revenue of the State is, however, of quite insignificant importance when compared with the capital value of the Indian forests redeemed from certain destruction, and when thought is taken of the benefits accruing to the country through the preservation of forests which exercise so much influence on the rainfall and consequent food supply of the people. Truly this is a great and beneficent work accomplished during Her Majesty's reign. Well may Sir Richard Temple say that "this Indian Forest Department is now probably the largest in the world. It is to be reckoned among the achievements of our period." *

J. MICHAEL.

* "India during the Jubilee Reign," in *A. Q. R.*, of July, 1887.

WIDOW AND INFANT MARRIAGE IN BENGAL.

I PROPOSE in this paper to examine the customs of Widow and Infant Marriage as they prevail among the chief tribes and castes of Bengal at the present day, and to endeavour by analysis and comparison to determine the tendencies which seem likely to govern the development of these practices in the immediate future. An attempt will at the same time be made to indicate the lines along which some measure of reform may perhaps be found practicable without alienating by recourse to legislation the sympathies of the only classes that are in a position effectively to combat the social and physical evils of the present state of things. Those evils are in some respects less, and in others infinitely greater, than they are popularly believed to be; and their remedy, in my judgment, is to be sought, not in any form of experimental legislation, but in earnest and combined efforts on the part of the higher castes of Bengal.

For the ultimate origin of the prohibition of widow marriage among the higher castes we must look back, far beyond the comparative civilization of the Vedas, to the really primitive belief that the dead chief or head of the family will need human companionship and service in that other world which savage fancy pictures as a shadowy copy of this. To this belief is due the practice of burning the widow on the funeral pile of her dead husband, which is referred to as an "ancient custom" (*dharma purāna*) in the Atharva Veda.* The directions given in the Rig Veda for

* "Atharva Veda," 18, 3, 1, quoted by Zimmer, "Altindisches Leben," p. 331.

placing the widow on the pile with her husband's corpse, and then calling her back to the world of life, appear, as Tylor * has pointed out, to represent "a reform and a reaction against a yet more ancient savage rite of widow sacrifice, which they prohibited in fact, but yet kept up in symbol." The bow of the warrior and the sacrificial instruments of the priest were thrown back upon the pile to be consumed ; the wife, after passing through the mere form of sacrifice, was held to have fulfilled her duties to her husband, and was free to marry again. A passage in the Rig Veda quoted by Zimmer † shows that in some cases at any rate the widow married her husband's younger brother (*devar*) ; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that her obligations in this respect were very much what we now find among the castes which permit widow marriage.

At this point the historical record, such as it is, breaks off, and conjecture alone can divine the precise motives which induced the Brahmans of a later age to revive that custom of primitive savagery which their ancestors had expressly condemned. Closer contact with more barbarous races, the growth of the sacerdotal spirit, the desire, as Sir Henry Maine has suggested, to get rid of the inconvenient lien which the widow held over her husband's property, may all have contributed to this result. But when widow sacrifice had been thus re-introduced, it is *prima facie* unlikely that it should have been enforced with that rigid consistency which distinguishes the true savage ; and, in fact, the texts prescribe for the widow the milder alternative of a life of ascetic self-denial and patient waiting to join the husband who has gone before. According to some authorities, they also recognize, though as a less excellent path than the two former, the alternative of re-marriage.

I will not attempt to enter upon the controversy as to the precise meaning of the passage in Parásara's Institutes, on which the modern advocates of widow marriage rely, still less

* "Primitive Culture," i., 466.

† "Altindisches Leben," p. 329.

to discuss its applicability to the present age of the world. It seems more profitable to state the causes which, irrespective of isolated texts, would in any case have favoured the growth of the modern custom which forbids the widows of the highest castes to marry again, and which shows signs of extending itself far beyond its present limits, and finally of suppressing widow marriage throughout the entire Hindu community of Bengal. Some, at any rate, of these causes are not far to seek. In the first place, the anxiety of the early Hindu lawgivers to circumscribe a woman's rights to property would unquestionably tend to forbid her to join her lot to a man whose interest it would be to assert and extend those rights as against the members of her husband's family. At the same time the growth of the doctrine of spiritual benefit would require her to devote her life to the annual performance of her husband's *śrāddh*.* Technical obstacles to her re-marriage also arise from the Brahmanical theory of marriage itself. That ceremony being regarded as a sacrament ordained for the purification of women, and its essential portion being the gift of the woman by her father to her husband, the effect of the gift is to transfer her from her own *gotra* or exogamous group into that of her husband's. The bearing of this transfer on the question of her re-marriage is thus stated by an orthodox Hindu at pp. 276-277 of the papers relating to Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood published by the Government of India :—

“Her father being thus out of the question, it may be said that she may give herself in marriage. But this she cannot do, because she never had anything like disposal of herself. When young she was given away, so the ownership over her (if I may be permitted to use the phrase), vested then in the father, was transferred by a solemn religious act to the husband, and he being no more, there is no one to give her away; and since Hindu marriage must take the form of a religious gift, her marriage becomes impossible.”

A powerful influence must also have been exerted by a cause which, so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been noticed in this connection. This is the custom which Mr.

* Tagore Law Lectures, 1879, pp. 187, 188.

Ibbetson* has called "*hypergamy*, or the law of superior marriage"—the rule which compels a man to wed his daughter with a member of a group which shall be equal or superior in rank to his own, while he himself may take his wife, or at any rate his second wife, from a group of inferior standing. The Kulinism of Bengal is perhaps the best known illustration of this law; but instances of its working are found all over India, and it clearly may have arisen wherever great pride of blood co-existed with a mode of life demanding the continual maintenance of a high standard of ceremonial purity. In a society so organized it must needs be that offences come, and that they affect the matrimonial status of the family by whom they come. The tribe or caste would then be broken up, like the Jews in modern Germany, into divisions of varying social position and purity of lineage, and intermarriage between these would in India be regulated by the law stated above, which appears to owe its form to the passages in the early texts which admit of the marriage of a man of a higher caste to a woman of a lower caste, but condemn the converse practice in the strongest terms. The first consequence of this restriction would be a surplus of marriageable women in the superior groups; for the men of a given superior group might, and presumably in some instances would, marry women of an inferior group, while men of this group would be barred for the women of the superior group. Competition for husbands would follow; the bride-price of early usage would disappear, and would be replaced by the *bridegroom-price* now paid among most of the higher castes in India; and in extreme cases female infanticide would be resorted to. Widows certainly would be the first to be excluded from the marriage market, for in their case the

* "Punjab Census Report," p. 356. Mr. Ibbetson adds, in a note:—"I am indebted to Mr. Coldstream for these two words [*hypergamy* and *isogamy*]." *Hypergamy*, indeed, would appear rather to mean "too much marriage," than "marriage in a higher rank," but the highest classical authority in India prefers it to *anoterogamy*, the only alternative which suggested itself.

interests of the individual families would be identical with those of the group. The family would already have paid a bridegroom-price to get their daughter or sister married, and would naturally be indisposed to pay a second, and probably higher, price to get her married again. The group, in its turn, would be equally adverse to an arrangement which tended to increase the number of marriageable women. Members of the higher castes, indeed, have frequently told me that these reasons of themselves were sufficient to make them regard with disfavour the modern movement in favour of widow marriage. For, they said, we find it hard enough already to get our daughters married into families of our own rank, and things will be worse still if widows enter the competition with all the advantages they derive from having got over their first shyness, and acquired some experience of the ways of men. The sentiments of Mr. Weller sounded strange in the mouth of a Kulin Brahman, but the argument was used in entire good faith, and was backed up by much lamentation over the speaker's ill-luck in being the father of four daughters, all unmarried.

The considerations stated above are entitled to whatever support they may derive from the fact that the castes which permit widows to re-marry know nothing of the custom of hypergamy, and as a rule pay for brides, not for bridegrooms. Among these groups the normal proportion of the sexes, whatever that may be, at the age of marriage, has not been affected by any artificial divisions, and there is every reason to believe that widows who are in other respects eligible have no particular difficulty in finding husbands. Polygamy prevails on a limited scale, and a large proportion of the men have two wives, the second wife being often a young widow chosen by the man himself for her personal attractions, after the first wife, whom his parents selected for him, has lost her looks and become little more than a household drudge. Another point is that the lower castes seem to have a greater capacity than the higher for throwing off sub-castes. Deviations from caste usage,

trivial changes of occupation, settlement outside the traditional habitat of the caste, and a variety of similar causes which in the higher castes would, as a rule, merely affect the standing of certain families in the scale of hypergamy, tend in the lower castes to form endogamous groups, the members of which intermarry only among themselves. The difference is important, as the latter process does not disturb the balance of the sexes and the former does.

Let me now state as concisely as possible the actual practice which rules in respect of widow marriage in the four great Provinces—Behar, Bengal Proper, Orissa, and Chota Nagpore—which make up the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. In Behar a fairly liberal tendency seems to prevail. All castes except Brahmans, Rájputs, Bábhans, Káyasths, and certain castes belonging to the Baniyá class which are not properly native to Behar, permit widows to marry again by the form known as *sagai*. The etymology of the word *sagai* is obscure. It has been supposed to be a corruption of *sa-gotra*, or *sva-gotra*; the idea being that as a woman passes by marriage into her husband's *gotra* or exogamous group, if she marries again *within that gotra* (as she usually does), she constitutes an exception to the ordinary rule of exogamy. The Bengal term (*sanga* or *senga*) does not, however, bear out this view, and it seems probable that the word simply denotes cohabitation (*sanga*), and has reference to the fact that a widow marriage is established by the parties living together, and is accompanied by a very meagre ceremony, or none at all. The *phera* or circumambulation of the sacred fire is never practised on such occasions: the husband merely smears some vermilion on the woman's forehead and takes her to live with him.

Widow marriages in Behar are usually brought about by the relatives of the widow. In some cases she may herself take the initiative, "but," as one of my native correspondents writes to me, "public opinion is against ~~love~~ marriages." The *sardár* or head of the caste council

(*panchayat*) has also to be consulted, but this is mostly a matter of form, as he rarely withholds his consent. Although by marriage every woman is supposed to pass into her husband's *gotra*, no regard is paid to that *gotra* in arranging for the re-marriage of a widow. Whether her husband's death is supposed to dissolve the *gotra* tie or not, is a point I am unable to clear up. Certain it is that the persons whom she may not marry as a widow are the persons who would have been barred for her as a maiden. She may marry her late husband's younger brother, or younger cousin, and in some castes she is under a sort of obligation to do so. Marriage, however, with her late husband's elder brother or elder cousin, or with any of his direct or collateral ascendants, is strictly prohibited. To this extent her table of prohibited degrees is enlarged.

The ceremony varies in certain respects according as the bridegroom is himself a widower or a bachelor. If he is a widower, he goes at nightfall to the bride's house in his ordinary dress with a few of his friends. There they are feasted during the night. Towards daybreak the bridegroom, dressed in a new suit of clothes presented by the bride's relations, meets the bride, who wears a new cloth (*sári*) given her by the bridegroom, in one of the inner rooms of the house. There in the presence of her female relations he smears powdered vermilion (*sindur*) on her forehead and the parting of her hair. This completes the ceremony. Some castes add to it the form of throwing a sheet (*chádar*) over both parties, and under this sheet the smearing of vermilion is gone through. Brahmans take no part in the ritual, nor are any calculations entered into to find out an auspicious day. Early next morning the married couple go home to the husband's house without the final ceremony (*rukhsati*) which is used in bringing home a virgin bride. Even in the case of a virgin widow no *rukhsati* is performed; but as a child-widow is never married again until she has attained puberty, there is no necessity for a ceremony designed to celebrate that event.

When a bachelor marries a widow the ritual is more elaborate. Astrologers are called in to fix a lucky day ; a bridal canopy (*marwa*) is erected in the bridegroom's house, and his ancestors are solemnly propitiated by Brahmans. In none of these ceremonies, however, does the bride take part, nor does she approach the *marwa*. She is brought to the house by night, and towards daybreak is conducted to an inner room, where the bridegroom puts vermilion on her forehead in the presence of the females of the family.

Such marriages are not considered disreputable. The *sagai* bride has all the rights and position of a wife married by the full-blown Brahmanical ceremony. Her children by her second husband inherit equally with any children whom he may have had by a former virgin bride ; they offer sacrifices to their father and his ancestors : they are received as members of his *gotra*, and they marry among the women of the caste. In these respects their position differs materially from that of the widow's children by her late husband, who properly belong to his family, and are usually taken care of by his relations. Should they decline the charge, the children follow the widow ; but they are not deemed members of the family into which she has married, and they are not allowed to join in the domestic worship or to share in the inheritance.

So far, it may be said, the question of widow marriage in Behar seems to rest upon a reasonable footing. Symptoms of a tendency in the opposite direction are, however, not wanting. The Kurmis are a case in point. Some months ago I had a large body of them before me, and was asking "what sort of Kurmis" they were. One group answered promptly, "We are Ayodhya Kurmis : we do not allow widows to marry again." Another group, of Jeswar Kurmis, admitted with considerable reluctance that their widows did re-marry. In fact, the tone in which both sets spoke on the subject made it clear that the Ayodhya had adopted this restriction in comparatively recent times, and were very proud of the distinction. The Jeswars, on the other hand, were

rather ashamed of themselves, and were particularly anxious to explain that they did not allow the widow to marry any one she chose, but expected her to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. If she married an outsider, she forfeited all claim not only to her husband's property, but also to the custody of her children. It is possible that re-marriage restricted by these conditions may represent an advance from the promiscuous re-marriage practised by the lower castes towards the total prohibition in vogue among the higher castes. It should be mentioned that the Kurmis of Behar are a perfectly distinct race from the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpore and parts of Orissa, whose totemistic usages were referred to in a former number of this REVIEW.* Both Jeswar and Ayodhya Kurmis approach closely to the Aryan type of feature, and some of them are very fine-looking men.

Other Behar castes in a state of transition as regards widow marriage are the Sonars, Sunris, Koiris, and Telis. Among the Sonars the Bhojpuria and Kanaujia allow widows to re-marry, while the Kamarkalla, Mairh, and Ayodhiabasi do not. All five sub-castes are endogamous, and are subdivided into smaller exogamous sections called *mils*. In Durbhunga the Biahut Sunris prohibit widow marriage; the Sagáhut and Darchua allow it. In Gya the Koiris belong for the most part to three sub-castes—the Barki-dáangi, Chutki-dáangi, and Jaruhár—of whom the last-mentioned practise widow re-marriage; the former do not. So also the Telis of Saran have five sub-castes, four permitting widow re-marriage, and one, the Behuta (corruption of Biahuta, “the married ones”), forbidding it.

In Chota Nagpore the castes which are or pretend to be of Behar origin follow the Behar rules in the matter of widow marriage. The aboriginal tribes—Santáls, Bhumij, Mundas, Oraons, and Hos—permit widows to marry again without imposing any restrictions on their selection of a second husband, except that the prohibited degrees must

be avoided. They also sanction considerable liberty of divorce at the instance of either husband or wife, and permit divorced wives to marry again. A step higher in the social scale, the transition to orthodox habits is well marked by the Koiris of Manbhum. These people, while retaining totemistic exogamous groups which stamp them as of aboriginal descent, forbid, at least in theory, the re-marriage of widows, though they allow them to live in a sort of licensed concubinage not preceded by any kind of ceremony. Even this concession is unknown to the Lohars and Dhobis, who, though occupying a very low social position in relation to the higher castes, have completely thrown off a practice which they regard as a badge of social degradation. They absolutely prohibit the re-marriage of widows and divorced wives.

The tendency to imitate the usages of the higher castes which has been remarked in Behar and Chota Nagpore operates much more strongly in Bengal Proper and Orissa. In Orissa, for instance, the Goalas take a higher position than in Behar, and rigorously prohibit widow re-marriage. Throughout Bengal the Kaibarttas, though ranking below the Navasakh or group of thirteen (formerly nine) castes from whose hands an orthodox Brahman can take water, marry their daughters as infants, and forbid their widows to re-marry. In Dacca the gunny-weaving and mat-making Kapalis, and the Chandals, spoken of in Manu as "the vilest of mankind," have given up widow re-marriage, and the practice appears to be confined to the Gareri, Rishi, Koch-Mandai, and other aboriginal and semi-aboriginal castes. Similar evidence of the gradual spread of practices prevalent among the higher castes comes to us from Northern Bengal. The Rājbanis of Rungpore, people of distinctly non-Aryan type, who have abandoned their tribal name of Koch in quite recent times, now pose as high-caste Hindus, and affect great indignation if asked whether their widows can re-marry. The Poliyas of Dinagepore, also demonstrably Koch, fall into two sec-

tions, Rājbañsī Poliyas and Byabahāri, or "common" Poliyas. The latter practise widow marriage, but are beginning to be ashamed of it, and in this and other matters show signs of a leaning towards orthodox usage. The former are as strict as the extreme ignorance of the "fallen" Brahmans who act as their family priests admits; and as education spreads among them they will go on continually raising their standard of ceremonial purity.

The present attitude of the Hindu community towards the proposals to recognize and extend the practice of widow marriage may, I think, be briefly stated somewhat to the following effect:—The most advanced class of educated men sympathize in a general way with the movement, but their sympathy is clouded by the apprehension that any considerable addition to the number of marriageable women would add to the existing difficulty and expense of getting their daughters married. Below these we find a very numerous class of men who are educated enough to appreciate the prohibition of widow marriage supposed to be contained in certain texts, and who have no desire to go behind that or any similar injunction in support of which tolerably ancient authority can be quoted. Then come the great mass of the uneducated working classes, with rather vague notions as to the Shastras, but strong in their reverence for Brahmans, and keen to appreciate points of social precedence. To them widow marriage is a badge of social degradation, a link which connects those who practise it with Doms, Boonas, Bagdis, and "low people" of various kinds. Lastly, at the bottom of society, as understood by the average Hindu, we find a large group of castes and tribes of which the lower section is represented by pure aborigines practising adult marriage and widow re-marriage, while the upper section consists of castes of doubtful origin, most of whom, retaining widow marriage, have taken to infant marriage, while some have got so far as to throw off sub-castes distinguished by their abstention from widow marriage.

It is not suggested that the groups indicated above can be marked off with absolute accuracy. But without insisting upon this, it is clear that the tendency of the lower strata of Hindu society is continually towards closer and closer conformity with the usages of the higher castes. These alone present a definite pattern which admits, up to a certain point, of ready imitation, and the whole Brahmanical system works in this direction. Of late years, moreover, the strength of the Hinduizing movement has been greatly augmented by the improvement of communications. People travel more, pilgrimages can be more easily made, and the influence of the orthodox section of society is thus much more widely diffused. The case of the Rājbanis—the fourth largest caste in Bengal—is an excellent illustration of the scale on which this force does its work.

We have, then, at one end of Hindu society a small handful of reformers brought up on a foreign system of education proposing to Government to legislate for the purpose of carrying out domestic reforms of a most searching character, while at the other end thousands of people are every year abandoning the very practice which the reformers wish to introduce. For one convert that these may make, at the cost of much social obloquy, among the highly educated classes, Hinduism sweeps whole tribes into its net. It must also be remembered that the sanctions which form part of the reformers' scheme will not touch people who settle all their civil business through panchayats administering customary law. The only power that could move them would be the dicta of priests, match-makers, genealogists, astrologers, and the like; and these men, I need hardly say, are now banded together on the side of orthodoxy. I know no class of men more obstinately and unreasonably conservative than the half-educated Brahmans who look after the spiritual welfare of the middle and lower castes.

It will naturally occur to many people that the facts set forth above go to show that there is no paramount

necessity for vigorous action either on the part of Government or of the leaders of Native society. The prohibition of widow marriage is, it will be said, mainly confined to the three highest castes, or to castes dominated by their influence and subject to their authority. By these castes an English education is eagerly sought for, and they may fairly be left to work out their own salvation by the light of Western ideas. There would be something to be said for this view if we could count upon arresting development at its present stage, and could set bounds to the destructive influence of orthodox usage. This potent solvent, however, works by agencies wholly beyond our control, and its operation is likely to be materially assisted by the improvement of communications. As I ventured to say lately to the Bombay Anthropological Society, "Every new railway, besides giving new customers to Manchester, gives new clients to the Brahman." If things go on as they are going now, in fifty years' time the number of castes which forbid widows to re-marry will have enormously increased, and a question which now calls only for the exercise of compassionate sympathy will have attained the dimensions of a serious social evil. What shall we do to be saved from the troubles to come? Legislation will help us little, at least in any of the forms which are now before the public. In the first place, the great body of the people are too poor to be much affected by the abrogation of the forfeiture clauses of the Hindu Marriage Act; and secondly, those clauses are, as has been shown above, entirely in accord with the custom of the widow-marrying castes in Behar. The law therefore, amended as advanced reformers now propose, would either discourage widow marriage by attaching to it a condition inconsistent with existing usage, or would miss its inducement by reason of the poverty of the parties. In either case it would be wholly inoperative. We must look, therefore, to some other influence, which shall be at once more general

in its effect and more in keeping with the traditions of the people. The only influence which seems likely to answer our purpose is that very imitative tendency which has led to the prohibition of widow marriage among some of the lower castes. The upper castes are open to reason, and some of their most enlightened members, among whom I may be permitted to mention Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, have assured me that they regard the recognition of widow marriage as merely a question of time. Once let the upper castes be fully converted to the new practice, and the lower castes will follow their lead in one direction as blindly as they now follow it in another. They will follow it all the more readily if the proposed reform is presented to them in the familiar shape of a primitive custom revived after temporary disuse. Let the facts be what they may, the fiction that would win the people at large must allege that widow marriage is the immemorial usage of their race. The Veda must be made to take the same place in their minds which the laws of Edward the Confessor held for the Englishmen of the early days of Norman rule.

This end can only be attained by a wise exercise of that talent for organization and propagandism which the upper classes of Bengal have shown themselves to possess in a marked degree. I will not attempt to sketch a detailed scheme of operations. The main difficulty will be to gain the support of the Brahmans who serve the lower castes. They are now the chief agency for spreading orthodox practices, and it is through them that the proposed reform must be introduced. Their co-operation would perhaps be more readily secured if the reforming party made it part of their scheme to devise a somewhat more elaborate ritual for use at the marriage of widows. The meagre ceremony which I have described at p. 373 tends of itself to bring such marriages into disrepute, and is open to the further objection that

it yields no fee to the Brahman. It is not suggested that the ceremony used at a widow's marriage should be in every detail identical with that used at the marriage of a virgin. Indeed, the usage of most countries favours some small differences, if not of ritual, at least in the attire of the bride. One cannot but feel, however, that the Indian system goes too far in this respect, and permits a man to marry a widow with little more circumstance than would be appropriate if he were merely taking up a fresh mistress.

Before quitting this branch of my subject, I wish to add that the reforming members of the higher castes are deeply interested in securing the adhesion of the lower castes. Should they fail to do this, they will find themselves left alone between two legions of the orthodox, and they will tend to sink into the rather undignified and matrimonially inconvenient position of a mere sub-caste whose distinctive mark is the adoption, under the influence of Western ideas, of a practice reprobated by the rest of the population. This would be a sorry ending to the promise of a great social reform.

The practice of infant marriage has spread much further and taken root more deeply among the lower castes than its social complement, the prohibition of widow marriage. Both customs, the positive as well as the negative, have been borrowed from the higher castes, and are now regarded as paths leading towards social distinction. But the one is much easier to follow than the other. A man must get his daughter married at latest when she is fourteen or fifteen years old. To marry her five or six years earlier causes him no particular inconvenience, and confers on him whatever consideration may attach to religious orthodoxy and social propriety. On the other hand, to stop the re-marriage of widows, in castes where the balance of the sexes has not been disturbed by hypergamy, must at starting cause some practical inconvenience. Among the lower castes women are much

more of a power than they are among the higher; they assert themselves freely on a variety of public occasions, and in many cases they have secured for themselves the right to initiate proceedings for divorce. One can hardly doubt that their influence would be exercised in favour of widow marriage, and that it would tend on the whole towards keeping that institution alive. Some allowance must also be made for the fact that the lower castes do not keep their women in seclusion. A good-looking widow shut up in the family zenana can be more easily sacrificed to notions of social propriety than a woman who goes out and meets possible suitors every day of her life. To whatever cause the difference may be due, it is certain that of two customs, both adopted under pressure of the same motives, the one—infant marriage—is almost universal, while the other—the prohibition of widow marriage—has only the comparatively limited currency already explained. Infant marriage, in fact, is now so widely diffused as to have almost entirely displaced adult marriage within the limits of the caste system proper. The aboriginal races of Chota Nagpore and the Orissa Hills, the semi-Mongolian tribes of the Himalayan region, and the Indo-Chinese people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts still maintain a system of courtship and marriage between full-grown youths and maidens which has been minutely described by several sympathetic observers. Directly we leave these tolerably compact tribes, and pass on to the less definite groups which form a debatable land between the tribe and the caste, we find either infant marriage in undisputed possession, or a mixed system which tolerates adult marriage as a resource open to those who cannot afford to do anything better for their children, but at the same time enjoins the more respectable custom of infant marriage for all parents whose circumstances admit of it.

In the case of the lower castes there is little room for doubt but that the custom of infant marriage has been consciously borrowed from the higher castes in obedience

to that tendency to imitation which we may almost describe as an ultimate law of the caste system. But how did the higher castes come by a custom which is without a parallel (at any rate on so large a scale) elsewhere in the world, and which cannot be referred to any of those primitive instincts which have usually determined the relations of the sexes? Neither sexual passion nor the desire for companionship and service can be called in to account for a man marrying a girl at an age when she is physically incapable of fulfilling any of the duties of a wife. An ingenious explanation has been given by Mr. John Nesfield in an article* on the Tharus and Bogshas of Upper India. Mr. Nesfield says :—

“In the oldest type of society a woman was exposed to a double evil—the stain of communism within her own clan so long as she remained there, and the risk of forcible abduction into an alien clan, where she became the wife-slave of the man who captured her. And herein, I think, lies the secret of the seemingly irrational and certainly unnatural customs of Hindus, by which a girl is betrothed at six or eight, and married at ten or eleven. The betrothal ceremony is considered by all classes of the Hindu community to be of immense importance. The force of public opinion has made it as binding as marriage itself. If the boy dies before the marriage is performed, the child who has been betrothed remains a widow for life. A father is publicly disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen if he neglects to get his daughter finally married before she has completed the age of twelve. There are few points in which the social customs of the Hindus have been more severely condemned. But though it may be granted that the time has long passed when any good could be gained from their retention, it may yet be contended that they have been of some use in their day, and that customs so opposed to the plain dictates of nature could not have been accepted by a rational people without some rational purpose. It must be remembered that the natives of Hindustan, at the time when they first appear in history as antagonists to the invading Aryans, were in the savage stage, and that they have owed their subsequent reclamation, imperfect as it is, to the subtle and ever widening influence of Hinduism—a composite and very elastic creed, made up of the fusion of Aryan with native or aboriginal elements. I conceive, then, that the customs, to which so much exception has been taken, were the restraints imposed by this creed upon the rough matrimonial usages of the races amongst whom its lot was cast, some of which usages were formerly countenanced even by Hinduism itself as a concession to the prevailing

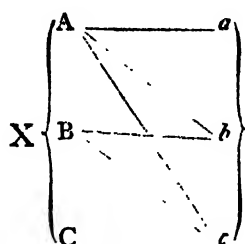
savagery. Marriage by stealth, marriage by capture, and marriage by the simple act of voluntary reciprocal intercourse, were all recognized by the ancient Hindu lawgivers as permissible to certain castes; and even Brahmans, the holy priests, and teachers of Hinduism, were allowed to indulge in the kind last named. It is no wonder, then, that a religion which was forced to concede so much to existing custom, should have sought to provide safeguards for the protection of the weaker sex through some counter-teaching of its own. By ruling, as it did, that a girl must be betrothed and married at a tender age to a youth of some outside clan, and by making this rule binding for life on pain of the severest penalties, it protected her both from the stain of communism within her own clan, and from the risk of forcible abduction into another. This explains, too, how it has come to pass that amongst Hindus, and Hindus only, the larger price is paid for the youth, and the smaller one for the maid—an exact inversion of the rule which prevails everywhere else. The Hindi word for betrothal is *mangni*, that is, ‘begging’ for a boy: for until the boy had been secured, the girl was not safe.”

I have quoted Mr. Nesfield’s views at length in order to guard against the danger of mis-stating an argument which I think inapplicable to the particular society with which we are concerned. The motives to which his theory appeals are no doubt highly intelligible, and in certain states of society would possibly be sufficient to account for the institution of infant marriage. It seems to me, however, that the society depicted in the Rig and Atharva Vedas must have got far beyond, if indeed they ever passed through, the stage of communal marriage and forcible abduction of wives. Courtship of a very modern type was fully recognized, and the consent of the girl’s father or brother was sought only after the young people had themselves come to an understanding. As an additional and conclusive indication that the kind of marriage contemplated by the Vedas was the *individual* marriage of comparatively advanced civilization, I may refer to a remarkable custom, traces of which have survived in modern Italy—the lustration of the bride’s night-dress after the wedding night.* This custom is clearly incompatible with communal marriage, and could

* Zimmer, “Altindisches Leben,” p. 314; “Gubernatis *Usi Nuziali*,” p. 234.

only have arisen in a society which set a high value on female chastity and had left primitive communism ages behind.

For these reasons I prefer to seek the origin of infant marriage in the custom of hypergamy described at p. 378. In further illustration of the working of that custom I invite reference to the following diagram :



Let X represent a caste divided into the three hypergamous groups A, B, and C. Within each group the capital letters stand for the marriageable men, and the small letters for the marriageable women of the group. The horizontal and diagonal lines connecting the capitals with the small letters show what classes of men and women can intermarry. It will be seen that a man of the A group can marry a woman of his own or of the two lower groups ; a man of B can marry into B or C, while a man of C is confined to his own class, and cannot marry a woman from either of the classes above him. Conversely, a woman of the C class can get a husband from A, B, or C, and a woman of the B class from A or B ; but a woman of the A class cannot find a husband outside of her own group. Excluding polygamy or polyandry, and supposing the women of each group to be evenly distributed among the groups they are entitled to marry into, the result of the first series of marriages would be to leave two-thirds of the women in the A group without husbands, and two-thirds of the men in the C group without wives. The women of all the groups, and especially those of A, will compete for husbands, and

the men of C group for wives.* But the fact that the social status of a family is determined not so much by the class from which it takes its wives as by the class from which it gets its husbands, would put the men of the lowest class and the women of the highest at a great comparative disadvantage, and would thus tend to produce infant marriage. For, the number of possible husbands being limited, the natural tendency is to endeavour to secure them as soon as possible. That this motive operates strongly at the present day, is plainly stated by one of the writers in the official publication already referred to,* who says :

“ Under these circumstances, when, in the case of a daughter, parents see that, unless they marry her at once, the one or two bridegrooms that there are open for their selection would be availed of by others, and that they would be disabled from marrying her before the eleventh year, and that they would thereby incur a religious sin and social degradation as regards the caste, they would seize that opportunity to marry their daughter, quite disregarding the evil effects of infant marriages.”

Again, when the custom of infant marriage had once been started, under pressure of social necessity, by the families of the highest group, who had the largest surplus of marriageable daughters, a sort of fashion would have been set, and would be blindly followed through all the grades.

Two forces are thus at work in the same direction, both tending to disturb the balance of the sexes and to produce abnormal matrimonial relations between the members of different social groups. Enforced competition for husbands on the part of the higher groups, and the desire to imitate their superiors which animates the lower groups, combine to run up the price of husbands in the upper classes ; while the demand for wives by the men of the lowest class, which ought by rights to produce equilibrium, is artificially restricted in its operation by the rule that they can under no circumstances marry a woman of the classes above their own. These men, therefore, are left very much out in the cold, and often do not get wives until late in life. An unmarried son

* “ Papers relating to Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood in India,” p. 178.

does not disgrace the family, but there is no greater reproach than to have a daughter unmarried at the age of puberty. Husbands are bought for the girls, and the family gets its money's worth in social estimation. Bargains, however, must be taken when they are to be had; and no father dares run the risk of waiting till his daughter is physically mature. He is bound to be on the safe side, and therefore he marries her, child as she may be, whenever a good match offers.

Many hard things have been said of infant marriage, and the modern tendency is to assume that a population which countenances such a practice is in a fair way towards great moral degradation, if not to ultimate extinction. Much of this criticism seems to me to be greatly exaggerated, and to be founded on considerable ignorance of the present conditions and future possibilities of Oriental life. In truth, excluding the poetical view, that marriages are made in heaven, two working theories of the institution are at present in existence—one which leaves marriages to make themselves by the process of unrestricted courtship, and another which requires them to be made by the parents or guardians of the parties who are to be married. The first, which we may perhaps call the method of natural selection, is accepted, and more or less acted up to, in most European countries. The second, a system of avowedly artificial selection, is in force, with few exceptions, throughout the East. Now it seems to me that, if any sort of supervising authority is to make people's marriages for them, the earlier it commences and completes its operations, the better. To defer selection until the young people have grown up, and may have formed attachments for themselves, is simply to prepare the way for complications such as are described in the charming story of *Diane de Breteuille*.* In a well-regulated Hindu household *Diane* would have been

* *Blackwood's Magazine*, April, 1837.

married in her ninth or tenth year, and would have had no opportunity of falling in love at all in the European sense of the word. It is idle to say that the European view of the matter—the view accepted on the whole by the progressive races of the world—is the right one, and that our dealings with the question in India should be regulated by that assumption. The assumption may be, and probably is, entirely correct, but the attempt to give effect to it in India would defer indefinitely all chances of minor reforms, would alienate a number of possible allies, and would be regarded as a perfectly unjustifiable interference with the customs of the country. I have already stated that in the case of widows love marriages are not approved of. This sentiment of disapproval would of course be infinitely stronger in connection with unmarried girls.

Putting aside, then, the European methods of courtship as inapplicable to Indian society in its present state, it seems to me that there is a good deal to be said for infant marriage of the type prevalent in the eastern districts of the Punjáb. I quote Mr. Ibbetson's description * :—

"Wherever infant marriage is the custom, the bride and bridegroom do not come together till a second ceremony, called *muklawa* has been performed, till when the bride lives as a virgin in her father's house. This second ceremony is separated from the actual wedding by an interval of three, five, seven, nine, or eleven years, and the girl's parents fix the time for it. Thus it often happens that the earlier in life the marriage takes place, the later cohabitation begins. For instance, in the eastern districts Jats generally marry at from five to seven years of age, and Rájputs at fifteen or sixteen, or even older; but the Rájput couple begins at once to cohabit, whereas the parents of the Jat girl often find her so useful at home as she grows up that some pressure has to be put upon them to induce them to give her up to her husband, and the result is that for practical purposes she really begins married life later than the Rájput bride."

Whatever may be thought of this from the standpoint of romantic love and elective affinities, the system is apparently free from physiological objections. The Jat

* "Punjáb Census Report," p. 355.

bride does not begin to bear children until she has attained sexual maturity, and it may well be that the magnificent physique of the Jats of the Punjáb is due in some measure to this cause. But as we travel eastward we may observe a progressive departure from the healthy custom of the manlier races. Already in the North-West Provinces we find the three highest castes permitting consummation to take place at a visit paid by the bride to her husband's house immediately after the initial ceremony; although it is thought better, and is more usual, to wait for the second ceremony, there called *gauná*, which may take place one, three, five, or seven years after the first, and is fixed with reference to the physical development of the bride.

Further east, again, premature consummation, which is virtually unknown in the Punjáb, and is the exception in the North-West Provinces, comes to be the rule in Bengal. Eighty years ago Dr. Buchanan wrote :—

“Premature marriages among some tribes are here (in Shahabad) on the same footing as in Bengal, that is, consummation takes place before the age of puberty. This custom, however, has not extended far, and the people are generally strong and tall. The Pamar Rajputs, among whom the custom of early consummation is adopted, form a striking proof of the evils of this custom; for among them I did not observe one good-looking man, except the Raja Jaya Prákás, and most of them have the appearance of wanting vigour both of body and mind. This custom, so far as it extends, and the great number of widows condemned by rank to live single, no doubt prove some check upon population.”

In comparing Patna with Bhágulpur, Dr. Buchanan says :—

“Behar is nearly on a footing with Bhágulpur; but here the custom of premature marriage is not so prevalent: and it must be observed that in these districts this custom is by no means such a check on population as in Bengal, for there the girl usually is married when she is ten years of age, but in this district the girl remains at her father's house until the age of puberty, and of course her children are stronger, and she is less liable to sterility.”

There is no reason to suppose that any reform has been introduced in these matters since Dr. Buchanan's time. In

fact, from all I can hear, the tendency in Bengal Proper is for the practice of premature consummation, originally confined to the higher castes, to extend itself continually among the lower. A single modern instance will show how widely it prevails. I had occasion lately to inquire, through native agency, into the usages of the Kásthās of the Midnapore district. My coadjutors, some of whom were members of the caste in question, laid special stress on the fact that, although the Kásthās married their daughters as infants, they did not allow consummation to take place before puberty. It was even suggested that this departure from ordinary custom furnished grounds for believing that the Kásthās were an offshoot, not from the regular Káyasths of Bengal, but from the Karans of Orissa, a writer-caste of lower social standing, and possibly of less pure descent, who also take precautions against premature cohabitation. Were not the rule pretty general, the exception could hardly attract so much notice. The testimony of medical observers is entirely to the same effect. A few years ago Dr. Robert Harvey, now Professor of Midwifery in Calcutta, in reporting on the medico-legal returns of Bengal for the three years 1870-72, spoke of infant marriage as a system of "legalized rape," and quoted cases to show that this expression in no way exaggerated the facts. Without entering on the suggestion which these words convey—a suggestion which is hardly suited for discussion in the pages of a non-medical journal—I may say that I have been assured by numbers of natives, whose veracity is beyond question, and who were themselves strongly impressed with the disastrous consequences of the custom, that in a very large proportion of the marriages which take place in Bengal, cohabitation commences before the bride has attained puberty. The Principal of the Sanskrit College, whose opinion I asked upon the subject, admitted that this was the case, and informed me that there was no authority for the practice in any of the texts which regulate the domestic life of the Hindus. It had arisen, I understood

him to say, as a part of the *stri-dhár* or *women's usage*, which has added to the standard marriage ceremonies a mass of unauthorized hocus-pocus, which is performed, I believe, without the assistance of Brahmans, in the women's apartments at the back of the Indian house. In whatever way the custom may have grown up, there can be, I imagine, no question as to the dangers with which it threatens the castes that practise it. How far the inferior physical development of the higher classes of Bengal, and their want of some of those masculine virtues which are associated with bodily strength and activity, may be due to this cause, is a question which I will not discuss here.

The foregoing sketch of the actual prevalence and probable origin of infant marriage indicates of itself with sufficient clearness the nature of the very simple reforms which are called for in Bengal. No violent changes need be made, no European ideas need be introduced. All that is wanted is to sweep away a corrupt modern development of a not very ancient custom, to go back to the precepts of the sacred texts, and thus eventually to assimilate the practice of Bengal in the matter of infant marriage to the practice still current in the Punjáb. Let people marry their daughters as early as they please, or as the internal organization of their caste dictates, but in the interests of posterity let them defer the second marriage until the girls are fully grown up, and keep them at home during that time. Thus, and only thus, can they hope to save their race from the physical and mental degeneration with which the continuance of the present system seems to threaten it.

To conclude: we find widely prevalent in Bengal at the present time two customs, both of which have been evolved at a comparatively recent date under the pressure of peculiar social conditions. One of these, the prohibition of widow marriage, though imposing painful disabilities upon a large number of individuals, can hardly be said to do any lasting damage to the people of Bengal, and may even serve as a slight check upon the overwhelming increase of popu-

lation, which promises to become the great problem of a not very distant future. Its effects, harmful as they may be, are confined to those women who, if they had lived under different social institutions, might have contracted happy second marriages instead of living lives of isolation and comparative reproach. The individual suffers, but the next generation is on the whole none the worse for the sorrows of the widows of to-day. Infant marriage, on the other hand, conducted as it is in Bengal, not only injures the individual women whom it forces into premature child-bearing, but must exercise a far-reaching and disastrous influence upon the future of the race. It rests with the people themselves to take the first steps towards reform. What those steps should be, I have attempted in a general way to indicate. I have only to add that there can be no better test of political capacity than the ability to carry out social and domestic reforms without invoking the *deus ex machina* of legislation. The Indian social system presents, no doubt, special obstacles to the reformer. Castes are proverbially hard to move. On the other hand, they move altogether if they move at all; and the very completeness of their organization should tend in the long run to render the work of reform less difficult than if the individuals whom they comprise were held together by any looser tie. To use the slang of modern politics, a caste is a ready-made Caucus, awaiting the hand of the wire-puller. It depends upon the leaders of society in Bengal in what direction the wires shall be pulled.

H. H. RISLEY.

GENERAL PRJEVALSKY ON CENTRAL ASIA.

WE have much pleasure in placing before our readers a translation by Captain Francis Beaufort, R.A., of the following important essay by General Prjevalsky, and we are indebted not less than the translator to the distinguished traveller for permission to reproduce it in our pages. The present condition of Central Asia is considered under seven heads—

I. CAUSES OF THE SPARSE POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY.

• At the present day the whole of the vast expanse of Central Asia, stretching from the Siberian Mountains on the north to the Himalayas on the south, from the meridional range of the Great Khingan to the mountain ranges of China Proper on the side of Gobi and Thibet, to the Pamir, the Western Tyan-Shan, and Tarabagtay on the west, forming a plateau of about 120,000 square geographical miles, is inhabited by three principal nationalities—the Mongols on the north, the Tanguts or Thibetians on the south, and the Turkestanis on the west. Chinese and Dungans are also met with here and there on the Oases, as also in the western portion nomadic Kirgiz. The total population probably does not exceed in round numbers eight or nine millions*—figures absolutely insignificant when compared with the vastness of the territory in question. The physical characteristics of the country

* This is based on the approximate estimate of Mongolia, three to four millions ; Thibet, one and a half to two millions ; Eastern Turkestan, two millions ; Djungaria, half a million ; the Oases of the Eastern Tyan-Shan and along the northern foot of the Nan-Shan, one million. Materials for accurate calculation do not exist.

however forbid with fatal precision anything more than the scantiest of population. Beyond the not very numerous oases, that dot the feet of the great mountain ranges like little islands, there is no room for settled agricultural life. Even in the case of the Nomads and their flocks, Central Asia affords comparatively but little rich pasturage, and that only towards its northern and eastern extremities.

The whole of the remainder, approximately four-fifths of the above-indicated area, is a mere howling desert, only here and there capable of affording an asylum even for the not very fastidious Nomad.* Many portions of this desert, such as the mountainous country of Northern Thibet, the Tsaidam swamps, the Tarim, Alashan and Djungaria sands, the shingly or clayey areas of the Central Gobi, and elsewhere its vast saline swamps, are wholly unfitted for man.

But if Central Asia presents for hundreds, even thousands of square miles, an absolute desert, it has nevertheless in places, which would appear to be all but uninhabitable, been peopled from time immemorial. Very favourable conditions for the rearing of cattle, such as a dry climate, absence of snow in winter and of venomous insects in summer, abundance of salt in the earth, herbage which, though appearances are against it, is nutritious, and in places also excellent pasturage, the relatively insignificant amount of labour expended on the care of the beasts—all this in the remote past co-operated to induce the human wild beast to adopt the pastoral vocation, and in the lazy but sufficiently secure life of a Nomad to seek the means of gratifying his not very ambitious desires. This was the more so that under such conditions and such

* It is necessary to distinguish between a steppe and a desert, words which are often erroneously considered to be interchangeable. Only on the northern and eastern edges of the Gobi is the steppe proper found. The whole of the remainder, including the Tarim and Djungaria basins, is desert. The mountainous district of Thibet, with a few small exceptions, is also desert, although of a different character to the Gobi.

surroundings no special energy was required nor any special individual qualities. The "struggle for existence" here assumed rather a passive than an active form, while at the same time it was confined entirely within the very wide frame of a monotonous, never-changing mode of life and uniform conditions of nature. This explains why, in the deserts of Central Asia, in spite of the abundance of wild beasts with which popular fable has credited that country and of which in former ages there existed far more than at the present day, man, unlike his brethren in the neighbouring forests of Siberia, has, so to speak, omitted the ordinary first stage in his development, namely that of a hunter, but has provided himself with herds of domestic beasts, and has been content to depend on them entirely for his means of subsistence. The chase seems to have been viewed merely as affording an auxiliary and purely secondary source of livelihood, or as a recreation. Of course originally only the better localities on the steppes were occupied; then, in proportion as their flocks and herds equally with the Nomads themselves multiplied, whether in the ordinary course of nature, or as the result of the influx of fresh tribes, nomadic life gradually assumed wider dimensions, spreading over every side. It could no longer afford to despise even the most meagre pastures, every spot capable of supporting life being seized on. But then as now, there could be no question of any very great diffusion, forage for the numerous herds being a *sine quâ non*. Periodical emigrations westwards; epidemic diseases among the cattle; wars invariably resulting in the ruthless extermination of the vanquished—these were the factors which, reappearing from time to time with fatal and unavoidable regularity, restricted the nomad population of the steppes and deserts of Central Asia to those normal bounds within which existence was possible. At the present day every spot affording pasturage is occupied; every scrap, every blade of grass is eaten each year either by the herds of the Nomads, or by wild beasts; no real increase in the sparse population of these vast tracts

is possible, without great detriment to the well-being of their large flocks, and hence to themselves.

On the other hand, every one of the small oases which lie scattered over Central Asia along the feet of its two principal mountain ranges, the Tyan-Shan and the Kuen-Lyun, and which present the sole and only spots at all suited to settled life, have from the earliest ages been filled to overflowing; every inch of irrigated land has been occupied; not a single gallon of water has been allowed to run to waste, the population has long been the very highest compatible with the productive capabilities of the soil, leaving no room for the addition of a single mouth. A system of periodical extirpation presented the sole possible solution of the problem, giving room as it did for the expansion of the conquerors over the vacated lands.

Thus, in spite of its enormous area, the localities in Central Asia, which are capable of supporting a nomadic, to say nothing of a settled population, are very few. It is impossible that the low figure of the population should ever be raised in any appreciable degree, while the desert remains as ever inimical to man.

II. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION.

In spite of diversities of race, tongue, religion, and mode of life, the moral and intellectual qualities of the inhabitants of Central Asia present, as is the case with all Asiatics, many points of general similarity. Viewed from the standpoint of the psychologist, we find everywhere the one uniform stamp of moral vacuity, sluggishness, and stagnation. The conditions which have governed this historical development, and in which slavery has from time immemorial played one of the most prominent parts, have in the majority of cases imparted to the character of the Asiatic a hypocrisy and egotism of the most repulsive description, while apathy and laziness form no less prominent traits. Putting aside for the moment the Nomads, whose whole

life is one continual state of absolute do-nothingness, even amongst the more settled portion of the population, in everything that concerns the satisfaction of the daily requirements of life, sloth stands out most prominently. "Time is *not* money"—this maxim applies in its entirety not only to Central, but in general to the whole of Asia. From the confines of Siberia and Turkestan to the very depths of Thibet we were continually hearing the words "move quietly!" "move slowly!" and never "faster!" "quicker!" "Good people never hurry themselves; only bad people such as thieves and robbers while carrying on their depredations"—were words constantly repeated to us by both Mongols and Tanguts. Quite in conformity with such notions, we find everywhere among Asiatics apathy and dull sloth enjoying high consideration as the special prerogatives of the rich man.* Such in the vast majority of instances we shall find to be the case, whether we take the Mongolian and Tangutian Princes and Lamas, the Kirgiz Bies, or the wealthy Sart and Chinese merchants. In general the ideal which the Asiatic sets before himself in common life is an impossibility—to unite a condition of prosperity with the total absence of any necessity for energetic action. The Nomads have approximately solved the problem by sacrificing to laziness and sloth nearly all that goes to make life pleasant.

As the result of this sluggish and passive disposition we find an entire absence of all tendency towards progress, and an extreme conservatism as prominent features generally in the character of all Asiatics. In their eyes liberty possesses no sort of value. As is well known, in China there exist no words to express the idea "civil liberty." Very remarkable is the fact that in Asia all the popular outbreaks have been, as a rule, directed merely against individual personages, who have succeeded in one

* Thus, for example, a pedestrian is invariably an object of contempt to the Asiatic. According to his notions such a mode of progression argues either extreme poverty or a very bad education.

way or another in drawing on themselves the popular ill-will, but never against the principles themselves of despotism. The barbarous Asiatic instinctively recognizes that in his rude condition liberty would mean only ruin, for amongst nationalities which have not been educated up to any high level of State life, in other words, barbarian, universal freedom very easily degenerates into anarchy.

An extreme dissoluteness of morals forms also a prominent trait in the character of Asiatics, more especially so amongst the settled portion of the population. As a general rule through Asia, the relations between men and women are founded exclusively on the dictates of sensualism; woman is an article of traffic or a beast of burden, nothing more. The gratification of his physical desires—coarse passions—this forms the *summum bonum* of every Asiatic. In the fundamental conceptions of his character, the Asiatic is an absolute egoist; his “I” ranks with him ever in the first place; the higher feelings of honour, duty, and morality are here unknown; on the contrary, hypocrisy and cunning count as merits of a high order.

It is impossible to deny the possession of great natural intellectual gifts, and to a peculiar degree that of ordinary common sense, to Asiatics, more especially to the settled population of Central Asia. The Nomads, and particularly the Mongols, stand in this respect on a much lower level, while their more speculative faculties possess in much a really childish character. But here, again, although endowed with good natural intellect, the Asiatic almost exclusively employs his gifts on the small matters of everyday life, an able man becoming as a rule merely a clever and adroit sharper. Any inspiration towards science, any thirst after knowledge, is simply non-existent. What germs of science ever did exist here seem to have been prematurely smothered, the sole results remaining being certain religious doctrines. It was these that gave rise to the absolute fanaticism of the Mahometans, and the hypocritical asceticism of the Buddhists. In China, indeed, under the ex-

ceptional conditions engendered in that country, by the great antiquity of its existence as a State under an organized government, the practical results showed themselves in a widespread spirit of atheism. In the comparatively more favourable ground of Chinese intellect there indeed appeared at a very early date some germs of science; but lacking as they did the invigorating influence of intercourse with foreign nations, and the consequent influx of fresh ideas and experiences, they have stood still, their development being arrested midway, or more often they have failed entirely to emerge from the mere embryo condition, surviving only in the lifeless forms of the monotonous daily routine.

With the evanescent and transitory nature of all impressions that they, in general, on account of the total absence of all power of mental concentration, are capable of receiving, and their natural cowardice—traits characteristic of every Asiatic—we may close the long list of the negative qualities of the population of Central Asia.

Much briefer is the list of laudable qualities to be found in the moral and intellectual warehouse of the people of Asia. In this case, it is necessary once more to distinguish between the settled and nomadic populations. If the former excel the latter as regards wit and intellectual ability, the Nomads in their turn, and especially the Mongols, are possessed of much better qualities of heart.

Thus amongst the Nomads domestic life is built up on mutual feelings of far greater sincerity between the husband and wife; while the relations between the father and his children are much more tender than is the case amongst the settled population. The Nomad in general is more candid and kind-hearted, while he looks on hospitality as a sacred duty. Theft is a crime of rare occurrence amongst the Nomads, and a promise once given is scrupulously fulfilled even amongst the Tangut brigands. Prostitution, that pest of civilized society, is quite unknown amongst the Nomads. In the majority of cases, the rich man aids the

poor man, while the impossibility of anything in the shape of luxury effectually forbids any marked difference between one man's condition and that of another.

Amongst the settled portion of the population of Central Asia, in addition to the much better mental faculties they possess than the Nomads, a love of peaceful domestic pursuits forms a remarkable trait in their character. This peculiarity, coupled with a complete absence of drunkenness, causes not only great crimes, but even passing quarrels, to be matters of comparatively rare occurrence. Theft, too, is but little known, especially amongst the village communities, who, as with us, are much more moral than those of the towns. Like an ant, the settled Asiatic burrows and digs in his miniature field and garden; a sullen silent kind of work, requiring no great expenditure of effort or physical strength, a labour entirely after his heart. He is easily satisfied, his mode of life being one of but few requirements, and happy is he if he be but left in peace. Just as with the Nomads, so amongst the settled population, the elders are treated with great deference—all general questions are referred to them. Universally among Asiatics, a despotism almost unlimited in its extent is found side by side with the elementary principles of elective government.

III. SMALL HOPE OF PROGRESS.

If we consider the *pros* and *cons* of the question as to whether the inhabitants of Central Asia possess any of the elements of progress, that is to say, understood in the sense of their fitness for, and ability to receive and assimilate, European civilization—we shall, I think, speedily arrive at a negative answer. In the first place, as regards the Nomads, the conclusion is at once forced upon us that every condition of their existence, their every characteristic and property, is in diametrical opposition to the essential elements of progress. The savage nature of the desert, offering as it does nowhere any field for the activity of man,

but on the contrary everywhere demanding a mere passive endurance, has induced and intensified the completely torpid sluggishness of its inhabitants. Active or energetic exertion is at no time, and in no place, required from him. Heat, cold, tempest, and other evils of an unpropitious climate can alone be met by a passive and patient endurance. Month-long rides on a camel at a foot-pace, with their accompaniments of hunger and thirst, can alone be accomplished by passive endurance.

The life-long contemplation of the same, never-changing barren and sterile desert must have as its result a passive and inert disposition. Not only are such conditions of existence wholly unsuited to the formation of an energetic character, but, on the contrary, the possession of such qualities would be really detrimental to the individual; he would quickly succumb and fall a victim in the struggle, wholly unsuited to him, in which he would be engaged. The tool suitable for Asiatic labour is not a sharp, highly-tempered chisel, but a dull, blunt mallet.

Under such unfavourable conditions the intellectual development of man is similarly impossible. There is an absence of all-sufficient motive for the same; while there is no field for the exercise, and hence for the development of the intellect. This explains why the Nomad has from the earliest ages been, and still is, as regards his ideas and faculties, at best but a child, for the most part indeed almost an idiot. In matters of ordinary routine he evinces a certain instinctive sagacity; but outside such, in the majority of circumstances, he loses even this faculty. On the other hand, there is no incentive for the Nomad to embrace the so-called "blessings of civilization." The whole character of his mode, life, and habits, is opposed to it. His herds secure to the Nomad every requisite which his not very fanciful mode of life demands, almost without any personal effort on his part. Less sensible here is the despotism of rulers, such as princes, khans, and other administrative personages, than the despotism of bitter

want and rough toil, which, unavoidable by the condition of things, for ever oppresses with their inexorable weight the working masses of European States. As regards science and real knowledge, these blessings are the portion of comparatively few, even in the most educated countries. For the masses they are unattainable beyond a few crumbs that may chance to fall from the tables of the elect.

In general we are quite justified not only in doubting the possibility of the Nomad, under any plan whatever, ever adapting himself to a civilized existence, but we may even go so far as to assert the absolute undesirability for these tribes themselves of such a metamorphosis. From the very nature of his surroundings it would be no more possible to transform the Nomad, dull of intellect, lazy and apathetic, into an energetic, civilized being, than to train a sheep to act as a setter or a pointer. In a few exceptional circumstances a raven in peacock's feathers might possibly be produced, but no more. Moreover why, if at present he exists happy and contented, according to his lights, in his native deserts, should a Nomad be eager to plunge into the abyss of civilized life? He troubles no one; requires nothing from any one; lives exclusively in himself and for himself. There is no reason or object for reducing all mankind without exception to the one general level of the standard known as European civilization; indeed it would be an impossibility. To each is allotted his own place, his own rôle on the general stage of human life. Just as in nature we see that the highest organisms are quite compatible with the existence of lower ones, so in the human family the lower as the higher members possess equally inalienable rights to an independent existence. To subject the former to too much tutelage would hardly be a kindness. Too much nursing would likely enough render the child an idiot. It is incontestable that civilization in lieu of the benefits hoped from it brings nothing but ill to the Nomad, destroys him morally while failing to raise him intellectually. Central Asia affords a living example of

this, in the Russian equally with the Chinese provinces of Mongolia. In neither do the Mongols resemble to any real degree in character the inhabitants of the more remote portions of the Gobi. In the first place, they borrow all their neighbour's vices, while they lose irrevocably their own simplicity and natural kindness of disposition; at the same time, they preserve intact all their former laziness and other faults; the final result thus being a terrible degeneracy. The greater the natural ability of the individual the greater scoundrel as a rule does he turn out.

Turning now to the Settled Population of Central Asia, whose general characteristics, as has been already mentioned, are in a great degree those of the rest of the more civilized peoples of that continent, it must be borne in mind that history teaches us that, for nations as well as for individuals, there are certain regular and similar stages of development through which they must pass from the very commencement of their existence to the end. Also as in the individual organism, a certain definite growth means a greater or less development of its various functions, so also in the social organism, concurrently with the progress of its own growth and in conformity with exterior conditions, there appears and develops this or that faculty, this or that proclivity, which in their turn determine and mark out the historic life of the people. It is true that not always or everywhere does this law run its usual course. The pressure of external accidents or internal deficiencies not infrequently produces an apparent change in, curtails or altogether sets aside, the ordinary cycle, so to speak, of popular development; just as indeed pathological changes break in on and disturb the ordinary course of the individual organism. It is, however, certain that as for individuals, so for nations, to return in their course of development to stages already passed through is an impossibility.

If the character and general social structure of the agricultural population of Central Asia be considered from this point of view, we may safely say that there is but

small chance for their ever entering on the path of European civilization. An impassable gulf lies between the inner world of the European and that of the Asiatic; they are absolutely distinct the one from the other; and it is hardly possible that they could ever come to look on one another in the light of brethren. Moreover that such a transformation may be effected, the vigour and freshness of youth is necessary, not decrepit and effete old age. That these necessary elements are wanting is true not only of the populations under discussion, but indeed generally of all Asiatics. Just as an old man, who has outlived his time, gradually enters on his second childhood as his end approaches, so the more cultured tribes of Central Asia, already enervated both intellectually and morally, may still manage to drag along a passive existence, but can never be rejuvenated.

Japan alone, in virtue of her maritime power, appears under somewhat different conditions. But even there, we are ignorant of what will be the result of the recent enormous strides along the path of reform; will foreign innovations really take root and prosper? China indeed, for so many ages a sealed book to Europeans, will hardly fall an easy prey to the innovations introduced to her so unceremoniously of late by the latter, innovations foreign alike to her genius and her soil. It is true that nowadays in this same country of China modern European perfections in arms and in military organization are being accepted, but this fact after all touches but one element in the public life of that State, viz., the necessity which has of late become startlingly vivid, of self-defence. The transplantation thither of other branches of European civilization would necessitate such a total break-up of existing customs and ideas as there would be but small chance of the Chinese people,* a nation already long past its prime, being able to withstand. The traditions of a remote antiquity, customs, ideas, the very structure of society—in a word, all that this people holds most sacred as the perfected product of

many ages of an historical existence—all would be of necessity changed. It would be asking of them too much to require them to give up what, having stood the test of ages, has become endeared in their eyes; while what they would be offered in lieu would be merely new and foreign, nay, according to the ideas of Chinamen, “barbarian.” Moreover many attributes of European civilization would appear in themselves to be elements of corruption and disintegration in the exclusive hegemony of China. Not to mention the shock that would inevitably be dealt to the very cornerstone of the social life of the nation, viz., the hierarchy, grim as it is, of the family, the introduction into China of machinery would deprive many millions of the manual labour, by which they now gain their bread; railways would rob millions of drivers and porters of their food, &c. Of course new occupations in all the various branches of technical industry would arise; but such would by no means suffice for the vast numbers of hands that would be thrown out of work. In any case the result would be the creation of a vast prolétariat, a social element that would prove far more dangerous than in Western Europe, as in China the available land is occupied to overflowing, its resources being already taxed to their utmost for the support of the present population. The sole and only course open for getting rid of this prolétariat would lie in emigration—but whither? It would be a question of the wholesale emigration of millions of a race incapable of assimilation with the inhabitants of any other country; a race which, no matter where they might settle, would infallibly found a fresh China.

Thus China is confronted with a dilemma from which there is no escape: either she must plunge headlong in the vortex of absolute and complete reform and change in all branches of her institutions, social and political; or she must elect to remain under the dominion of all her old traditions, parrying as best she may the pressure of the European. The first holds out but poor chance of success;

the second alternative is almost inevitable. But as a golden mean between the two lies the system, which has been already more than once tried, not only by China, but in our own time by Turkey, of tacking successfully between the sunken rocks of politics and playing off the mutual jealousies and adverse interests of her opponents one against the other.* This would be all the easier from the fact that in cunning and craftiness the Chinaman has nothing to learn. Simulating where necessary liberalism; adopting in appearance the policy now of this, now of that Power, according as the one or the other coincided with her own immediate interests; fawning on the strong, and bullying the weak; in a word, cleverly exploiting both friend and foe, while secretly laughing at both in her sleeve, China may yet continue for a long time to exist as an independent and self-sufficient Power; and, while extending this hypocritical policy to an indefinite extent, may very likely one day form for Europe a new "Sick Man."

Turning once more to the causes that present themselves as obstacles to the spread of civilization not only amongst the peoples of Central Asia, but in many other portions of that continent, we cannot but notice the two religions there dominant—Buddhism and Mahometanism. Their pernicious influence on the masses has struck root too deeply, and has raised barriers too massive for the successful propagandism of Christianity.

Let us, in fact, consider for a moment the fundamental principles of these two religions. Buddhism, as is well known, preaches the vanity and ephemeral nature of all existing things; it says that the world is an illusion, and life a heavy burden; that unhappiness lies in the very fact of existence; that there is but only one truth—Nirvana, absolute annihilation, a state utterly devoid of all reference to time or space—a state in which all notion of indi-

* Thus the well-known saying of Li-Hung-Chang, Viceroy of Tehili, and to-day the most popular man in China—"A poison must be met with an anti-poison, and foreigners by rival-foreigners, pitting the one against the other."

viduality is completely effaced. The Buddhist teaches that the highest aim a man can bear in this life is to strive to extinguish every personal desire, sensation, ambition—in a word, to prepare himself for Nirvana, for non-existence.

Mahometanism, although in its fundamental formula of "there is no God but God" proclaiming the high principle of a single God as the absolute cause of all existence, has, at the same time, yielding to the idiosyncrasies and genius of its disciples, displayed an indulgence to the sensual side of man, and has shrewdly turned his egotism to advantage in the doctrine of predestination. At the same time it has laid down as an immutable dogma the persecution of the infidel.

Thus the two religions are directly opposed in their tenets. Buddhism inculcates asceticism as man's highest merit during his terrestrial life, and promises complete annihilation as his future reward. Mahometanism, on the contrary, preaches a certain predestination for every man in this life, and in the future offers a paradise peopled with houris, where sensual enjoyments shall flow like a river. The Buddhist is indifferent as regards persons of other beliefs; he acts solely by example and persuasion. Mahometanism enjoins with fire and sword the adoration of the Prophet. It is this which forms the starting-point of the different influence exercised on history by the two religions; Mahometans, actuated by fanaticism, had at one time subdued nearly the whole historical world; Buddhists as such have never once appeared in the arena of history. The one religion requires the sword and violence; the other is one of benevolence, though at the same time, as far as regards the undermining of all energy, industry, and the better aspirations of man, not a less dangerous religion. Hence each has been similar in its action, though in different ways, to hinder progress; Buddhism has shown itself a directly disintegrating element in the body politic; Mahometanism, while doubtless in itself a bond of union, cementing together the various members of its body,

yet excludes all intellectual development beyond the limits of its own doctrines.

Let us now pass to matters of a more precise nature.

IV. INSTABILITY OF THE CHINESE POWER.

The three districts of Central Asia, Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan with Djungaria, and Thibet, are, as is well known, subject to China. Besides the troops and Government officials, Chinamen are found residing here as agricultural colonists and traders. In no part are they in any considerable numbers, except in the Oases which lie along the northern foot of the Nan-Shan range, and which are considered as forming part of the Han-Su Province of China Proper. In the extra-China provinces we meet a settled Chinese population in any numbers only in the South-eastern portions of Mongolia. They are, however, commencing to settle in the Oases along the northern slope of the Tyan-Shan, especially in the Kuldja district. Chinese agriculturalists are also found in inconsiderable numbers in Western Djungaria, in the vicinity of the towns of Tchu-gutchak and Bulun-tokhoi, in North-western Mongolia, near Ulyasutay, and also in the districts surrounding Urga. Everywhere throughout Central Asia Chinese traders are to be met with and, though less numerous, in the lately subdued province of Eastern Turkestan.

The total number of Chinese inhabitants in Central Asia may be taken approximately as from 170,000 to 200,000, but it must be borne in mind that any such estimate cannot be other than conjectural; while if we include the Oases along the Nan-Shan, comparatively thickly populated as they are with Chinese, and also to some extent with Dungs, we shall have to raise the estimate considerably.

Chinese rule was, as is well known, definitely extended over Central Asia during the sway of the present Tsing dynasty. Mongolia was subdued towards the close of the seventeenth century. She was allowed to retain her original

institutions, the sole difference being that the native authorities were subjected to the strict supervision of Chinese (Mantchu) officials nominated from Pekin.* There in the Foreign Office are settled all matters relating to the country in question. In a few districts, bordering on China Proper, Chinese institutions have been partially introduced.† The laws relating to the interior government of the Mongolian provinces (Khoshuns, Aimaks) have been drawn up by the Chinese in a special code. The public affairs of each principality are regulated in annual diets. The Mongols pay no taxes to the Imperial Government; all that is required of them is to support the local administration and to carry on the postal service. They have, in addition, to furnish the frontier guards, and in case of war to supply a specified contingent of mounted troops.

With a view to consolidating their authority over the semi-barbarous Nomads of Mongolia, the Chinese have adopted an extensive system of bribes which they practice with considerable success on the local native rulers and superior priesthood. To the first according to rank are allowed regular and very considerable salaries; while, moreover, the Mongolian princes on the occasion of the journeys, obligatory on them every three or four years, to Pekin with presents (horses, camels, &c.), receive return presents of very much higher value; and finally every now and then the hand of a princess of the Imperial House is bestowed on one or other of the more important among them. The favour of the Mongolian priesthood, which, on account both of its numbers and the unbounded influence it exercises over the populace, forms a very considerable power, is secured by the Chinese by assuring to it to the full all its rights and privileges, and also by the arraignment of Chinese officials before superior representatives of the

* Officials of this description, invested with greater or less arbitrary powers are found in the towns of Urga, Ulyasutay, Kobdo, Kalgan, Kuku-khoto and Sinin.

† Such are the provinces of Tchen-du-Fu, Tsakhar, and Hui-khua-tchen in South-east Mongolia.

Buddhist hierarchy of Chinese officials, with the not infrequent result that the official in question is deposed from his office.

With regard to the populace the Chinese make but little account; on the contrary, while securing the suffrages of the princes and lamas as above described, they exploit the lower orders to the utmost extent. Very marked in their effects on the general prosperity of the Mongols were the recent Chinese preparations for war with Russia regarding the Kuldja question. In addition to the military contingent which was demanded, and which, though not very large, they were obliged to equip at their own cost, the Chinese also imposed ruinously heavy contributions both in money and kind on [the Nomads. The passage to and fro of troops, necessitating the constant requisitioning of carriage and very often of provisions; the transport of military impedimenta across the desert; the frequent journeyings hither and thither of Chinese officials*—all were made the occasion for extortion in one shape or another. The last decade has moreover been marked in Mongolia by various calamities due to natural causes—now a summer of unusual drought, now a winter of unusual cold with heavy snow-falls—the result being evident in the large mortality among the flocks and herds. The above causes, coupled with oppressive and arbitrary exactions on the part of the Chinese, have everywhere been productive of a vast increase of misery among the Nomads. The great mass of the Mongols are exceedingly irritated against the Chinese, though, for the present, they are not in a position to give vent to their hatred.

It was about the thirteenth century of our era that China first extended her protectorate over Thibet, widening its limits on the accession of the present dynasty, and

* Chinese officials travelling in Mongolia, not only pay no hire for horses or camels, but at each station they stop at the Mongols are obliged to furnish them with one or more sheep according to their rank, a certain sum of money as a rule being taken in lieu.

finally consolidating her power during last century. Since that time one or two Chinese (Mantchu) Residents have been usually nominated to Lhasa, who take cognizance of the civil affairs of the entire country. In addition he exercises a surveillance over the actions of the Dalai-Lama and his *confre* the Teshu-Lama or Bantchin-Prembutcha, the latter of whom resides at Shigatze, and, as is well known, is the second dignitary in the Buddhist hierarchy. The Teshu-Lama administers his own province of Tsan, while that of Ui is immediately under the Dalai-Lama, who is also regarded as the political chief of Thibet. To the west lies the province of Nari-Kkhorsum with a sparse nomadic population, the government of which is directed from Lhasa; and to the east that of Kkham with Tchamu-to as its capital, which forms the residence of the Khutukht, a high dignitary, to whom the Dalai-Lama delegates the administration of the province. Northern Thibet presents nothing but a wild, uninhabited desert.

In addition to the Residents the Chinese Government also maintains in Thibet a small detachment of troops, quartered in Lhasa and certain other points. The Chinese supremacy in Thibet, however, rests for its principal support on cunning and clever utilization of the prestige of the Dalai-Lama. His election, although not avowedly so, rests entirely in the hands of the Chinese, the same being officially confirmed from Peking. The Thibetians pay no taxes to the Chinese, but their subjection receives expression once in every three or five years in a ceremonial embassy which is despatched to Peking with presents for the emperor, receiving others in return, which latter, as a rule, are of enhanced value.

The pacific disposition of the Thibetians affords the Chinese sufficient grounds for calculating on the fair stability of their power in that country, while they use every means to keep the country isolated, and sedulously guard the Lama from the curious gaze of Europeans.

Diametrically opposite are the conditions subsisting in

Eastern Turkestan, a province limitrophe with Russia, and which the Chinese conquered, along with Djungaria, about the commencement of the second half of last century. These two districts formed two provinces,* composing a single viceroyalty, at the head of which stood a Mantchu viceroy, who was invested with the highest powers, civil and military, the town of Kuldja being his place of residence; the superior direction of affairs in the country being in the hands of Chinese officials, while the more immediate government of the population was in Eastern Turkestan left to the native Beks, the principal of whom were nominated by the Chinese authorities, subject to confirmation from Peking. The organization of Djungaria was military. The Nomad population of the hill districts were under the authority of their own Bies, who were, in their turn, dependent on the Chinese. After the disorders and confusion preceding and accompanying the conquest, and the almost total extermination of the Djungarians, this region was allowed an interval of repose extending to the year 1825, during which it partially recovered. In that year, however, troubles again arose, especially in Eastern Turkestan; that unhappy country already so familiar with bloodshed and violence. These may be traced to the attempts on the part of the Khodjas† to restore their former authority, and to expel the Chinese. These disturbances continued with more or less varying fortune for both Chinese and Mussulmans up to the year 1860, causing a terrible amount of misery to the wretched inhabitants. In that year, however, the insurgent Dungans succeeded in finally overturning the Chinese power throughout nearly the whole of the transural provinces of Western China. The Chinese were also annihilated in Western Turkestan, where an era of continual civil warfare set in. Now arose

* Tyan-Shan-Nan-Lu (Eastern Turkestan), and Tyan-Shan-Pe-Lu (Djungaria).

† The former rulers of Eastern Turkestan, claiming descent from Mahomet.

the supremacy of Yakub-Beg, a power that owed its origin and its maintenance solely to the brilliant personal qualities and indomitable character of that celebrated leader. On his death, which there seems strong grounds for believing was brought about by violent means,* there at once commenced a struggle between the legitimate heir to the throne of Kashgar, Bik-kuli-Beg, Yakub-Beg's eldest son, and Hakim-Khan-Tyura, Governor of Aksu and Nyaz-Beg, Governor of Khotan. Meantime the Chinese, who had recently successfully reasserted their authority over the insurgent Han-Su districts, and had possessed themselves of Manas and Urumtchi, the two most important Dungan towns in the cis-Tyan-Shan country, taking advantage of the internal troubles in Eastern Turkestan, had overrun the whole country up to Kashgar itself without opposition. Bik-kuli-Beg, who had succeeded in defeating his rivals, found himself forced to seek refuge in Russian territory; and thus the ephemeral empire, created by the glories of Yakub-Beg, crumbled to pieces.

Having thus with quite unlooked-for success occupied Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese formed of it as before a special province, which, together with two others—Ili and Tarabagatay—to the north of the Tyan-Shan, composed the so-called New Line (Shin-Djang). Its administrative centre is fixed at the town of Urumtchi, where the Chinese viceroy resides; in whose hands lie the chief military and civil authority.†

* We were repeatedly assured by natives of Eastern Turkestan that Yakub-Beg was poisoned in May, 1877, by Nyaz-Khan, Governor of Khotan, who had been bribed for the purpose by the Chinese.

† A decree of the Imperial Government, towards the close of 1884, directed the formation of the whole of the cis-Tyan-Shan country into a single province, to be denominated the nineteenth, under the title of Han-Su-Sin-Tzyan-Shen, with Urumtchi as administrative centre. The following districts were to form part of the same:—Eastern Turkestan and the districts of Karashar, Urumtchi, Barkul, and Hami. As governor of this new region was nominated Lyu-Dzun-Tan, the official charged with the administration of the New Line. Apparently the question as to the other two provinces of the New Line, Ili and Tarabagatay, has not yet been decided.

The two northern provinces—that is, Ili and Tarabagatay—the settled population of which consists of Tarantches, Sarts, Chinese, Mantchus, and Dungans, with a nomad population of Kirgiz, Torgouts, Tchakhars, and the remnant of the Djungars, have a military organization. A civil administration, organized on the lines of that obtaining in the interior provinces of China, has recently been introduced in Eastern Turkestan. The whole region is divided into eight circles, of which the four eastern ones—Karashar, Kutcha, Ak-Su, and Utch-Turfan—form one district; while the western circles of Kashgar, Yangi-Hissar, Yarkand, and Khotan, form another. The government of the districts is entrusted to Daotays.* The one in charge of the eastern circles resides at Ak-Su; the other, to whom are confided the western, at Kashgar.* This latter official has, in addition, control over the foreign trade of Eastern Turkestan.

At the head of the sub-districts and circles are also Chinese officials, under whose orders are the local Mussulman administration. The more important among them, the Hakim-Begs (heads of sub-districts) at the present day systematically shirk their duties, and thus the sole medium existing between the Chinese authorities and the population at large consists of minor native officials who receive no sort of remuneration from the Imperial Government, and interpreters drawn from Mussulmans who have become more or less naturalized as Chinamen.† These, in common with the ignorant, rapacious Chinese officials, have succeeded in effacing even the shadow of either justice or legality in their dealings with the people under their power. It is certainly true that the latter have the Mahometan Shari'at to appeal to, but this is now little better

* Or Taotais. They are invested with certain, albeit somewhat nominal, powers over the troops.

† The Chinese have recently founded schools in Eastern Turkestan for boys of Mussulman parentage, who are there educated and brought up as Chinamen. The interpreters there formed are all more or less renegades of the most venal description.

than a dead letter, a mask, in fact, for concealing the most arbitrary abuse of power and contempt of law and justice.

The condition of the country as regards taxation was no better. While, with a view to assuring their somewhat doubtful loyalty, the Nomad Kirgiz mountaineers have been completely exempted by the Chinese from all taxation, such obligations of service and labour as they had being small and unimportant, the settled agricultural population of Eastern Turkestan, on the other hand, bear the full burden of the territorial imposts. These imposts are paid in kind, though sometimes a money equivalent is taken. The basis on which the amount of each contribution is calculated is not, however, as might be supposed, the yield of each separate yearly harvest, but the absolute quantity of ground in possession (whether under cultivation or not makes no difference). This is valued according to a certain fixed normal rate (a very high one), the standard of valuation being thus not quality, but quantity. Persons unpossessed of real or landed property, as also traders, pay nothing whatever to the exchequer. The agricultural class, in addition to the above imposts, are obliged to provide the necessary labour for State works, to furnish transport, and to maintain Djigits (mounted horsemen) for the public service, post, &c. In these matters, as well as in the collection of taxes, the pressure of the burdens themselves is frequently much enhanced by the tyranny and rapacity of the officials and interpreters. Finally, the sole indirect tax existing in Eastern Turkestan—that known as the *badj*—an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. on all cattle sold, was last year extended by the Chinese to every article of sale in the bazaars. Thus a new burden was laid on the agricultural class, who even without it were already paying in taxes, bribes, and other extortions, at least 50 per cent. of their income, while, moreover, the general bearing of the Chinese towards the natives is one of undisguised contempt. In a word, in Eastern Turkestan, on would seem as if it were the set purpose of the Chinese

depriving the native population of all chance of ever settling down, to render impossible the consolidation of their own power. In addition to the causes above set forth, religious hatred, and very probably the secret intrigues of the former pretenders to the throne, tend not a little to incite the population against their oppressors. The discontent of all classes of the community is growing with each day, and but a small spark, dexterously applied, is needed for a general explosion of the accumulated exasperation.

It is thus evident that the position of the Chinese both in Mongolia, and especially in Eastern Turkestan, is one of extreme shakiness. Being incompetent to attach to themselves foreign nationalities by the pacific measures of culture and assimilation, the Chinese are obliged to rest their supremacy exclusively on a policy at once of cunning and extreme egotism, and on their military strength. We shall discuss this latter point later, and will now pass to the consideration of our (*i.e.*, Russia's) position in this same Central Asia.

V. RUSSIA'S PRESTIGE.

In the course of all four of my travels through this country, I have had continually brought before me the very deep sympathy and respect which the Russian name enjoys everywhere among the natives, with the exception, indeed, of Thibet, where we are but little known. Amongst the other nationalities the attraction exercised by Russia is most remarkable. The Nomad Mongols, the Dungans, *i.e.*, the Mussulman Chinese, and the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan, especially the latter, are all more or less possessed with the idea of becoming subjects of the White Tzar, whose name, equally with that of the Dalai-Lama, appears in the eyes of the Asiatic masses as surrounded with a halo of mystic might. These poor Asiatics look to the advance of the Russian power with the firm conviction ^{China:} the mos its advent is synonymous with the commencement of a

happier era, a life of greater security for themselves.* This remarkable, and, viewed in conjunction with the fact that never at any period has any person played the rôle of Russian agitator among the population of Central Asia, very important circumstance has been brought about solely in the ordinary course of events. The insupportable yoke of China on the one side, and the renown of the humane manner in which we (Russians) treat the natives of our Asiatic possessions—these are the primary causes of the good name we bear even in the depths of the Asiatic deserts. The acquisition by us of Turkestan, and the introduction as far as possible of justice and fairplay into regions but lately the scene of the most unbridled tyranny, have in an especial degree tended to produce this result. It is not difficult of comprehension that the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, closely connected as they are by race, language, and religion with our own Turkestanis, but ground down by Chinese oppression, have the strongest inducements for striving after the same happy lot. Then the Mongols, especially those of the north, who have already long been acquainted with the Russians from the side of Siberia, are similarly, under the impulse of the lawless and arbitrary rule of the Chinese, gravitating towards Russia. Finally, the Dungans, dotted sporadically over the oases of Central Asia, and who have in like manner recently experienced the full mercilessness of Chinese brutality, and are even now still terribly ground down, long for the arrival of the Russians as their liberators from the same people.

Not to leave the reader merely the expression of my own opinion to form his conclusions from, I adduce here certain facts corroborative of what I have said.

In the preceding pages mention was made of the pitiable condition of Eastern Turkestan under Chinese rule. Crying injustice, espionage, rapacity, grinding taxation, tyranny of

* A fact corroborative of the above is the recent wholesale emigration into Russian territory of Tarantches from the district of Kuldja, ceded by the Russian Government to China.

officials—in a word, entire absence of all ideas of legality in all administrative or judicial matters—such are the leading characteristics of the Chinese rule. Neither are the persons nor the property of the natives secure. No one can say what the morrow will bring forth. Ignorant Chinese officials with their interpreters, drawn from amongst renegade Mussulmans, give complete licence to their tyrannical propensities, rapacity, and bestial passions. Further, the presence in the country of Chinese troops, far from tending to its pacification, has resulted in the continual spoliation of the people, and the infliction on them of every species of oppression. We ourselves witnessed scenes of oppression that made our very blood boil; such, for example, as the seizure by the Chinese officials, nay, by their servants even, of a man's remaining beast, or whatever possession of his the taker might fancy, wives and daughters violated almost before the eyes of their parents and relations, women subjected to corporal punishment, open robbery on the part of the soldiers, &c., &c. At the same time, the agricultural community was weighed down by an exorbitant taxation, which was mercilessly exacted to the last farthing.

It is not wonderful that, however mild the character of the native of Eastern Turkestan, it is impossible that he can reconcile himself to such a condition. Every class of the population here is imbued with a fierce hatred of the Chinese, women even on more than one occasion in our presence bitterly reproaching their husbands and brothers for their pusillanimous behaviour towards their tormentors. The elements of insurrection teem on all sides in Eastern Turkestan, but as more than one native said to us, "there is no head, none to lead." In former times such was forthcoming from the neighbouring Khanate of Kokand, but that is now a Russian dependency. At the same time, the isolated character of the various oases of Eastern Turkestan, both from a geographical and a political point of view, offers to the unhappy natives, even in the event of

the fullest success attending a revolt, or in other words, the complete extirpation of the Chinese, the not very cheering prospect of the despotic rule of this or that political adventurer, with the necessarily concomitant civil wars—in a word, the same nauseous dishes, the seasoning alone being slightly altered. Through the mournful mists of a chaotic present, and a not less clouded future, there is yet one ray of hope—Russia! This is all the more powerful from the living example, ever before their eyes, of Russian Turkestan, where in an incredibly short period Russian rule has proved itself a sure pledge of peace and prosperity. This, then, is the reason why in Eastern Turkestan, in every town and every oasis, the inhabitants are ever day and night devising means for becoming Russian subjects. At every step during my recent journey I received evidence of this. Everywhere, in spite of Chinese prohibition, the inhabitants of the oases of Eastern Turkestan strove to be of service to us in some way or another; everywhere were we received as honoured, welcome guests; while, at the same time, they openly expressed their hatred of the Chinese and their sincere desire to place themselves under the sceptre of the White Tzar. In some places this was carried to the extent of the Mussulman elders beseeching me then and there to issue an order for the immediate extermination of the Chinese! With regard to our journey these same Mussulmans used to say, “The White Tzar is now going to take us under his protection;” in fact, they considered this event as the fulfilment of the prophecy, very widely spread through Eastern Turkestan, of some saint to the effect that in the near future the Russians would conquer this country. “You have merely to blow, and there would not be a Chinaman left here,” the natives used to say to us. “The Russians would have but little fighting to do,” they used to add; “we will rise to a man, and ourselves annihilate our oppressors, provided only that we be not left to our fate afterwards.” *

* This fear is due to the fact of the retrocession of Kuldja by the Russians to the Chinese, out of which bloodless acquisition the latter have

The nomadic population of Eastern Turkestan, the Kirgiz, who inhabit the mountains forming the western boundary of the Tarim valley, are, according to persons specially acquainted with these tribes, more indifferent to the Chinese rule, as they are exempted from the payment of taxes, and in general enjoy a much larger amount of freedom; but even these tribes would hardly side actively with the Chinese. It is far more probable that in the event of war they would make the most of the opportunity for plunder, perfectly indifferent as to who the object of their depredations might be, and yielding to the force of circumstances, would be quite ready to exchange their condition of subjection to China for a similar position as regards Russia.*

Like the Eastern Turkestanis the Dungans, † who are met with sporadically both in the oases of Central Asia and the provinces of China Proper, especially in those of Han-Su and Shan-Si, ‡ are animated by hatred of the Chinese, a hatred primarily due to religious causes.

been shrewd enough to make great capital, assuring the natives of Central Asia that the Russians are so poor and avaricious as to always sell back their conquests for gold.

* Of course, for the wild, untamed Nomads the firm rule of Russia would be much less pleasant than the weak rule of China. Even now our Kara-Kirgiz Nomads of the Tyan-Shan, remembering their former raids, have a drinking song, "Oh, Russian giant, thou hast tied our hands; but loose them, though, for a time."

† Regarding the origin of the Dungans, or, as they are called by the Chinese, the Khoi-Khoi, nothing is known for certain. Some Orientalists derive them from the Uigurs, who at one period held supremacy over a considerable portion of Central Asia. The Dungans themselves are inclined to declare their descent from the Arabs. All Dungans are Mahometans. Their language is Chinese. At the present day, however, the type seems externally to be nearly identical with the Chinese, but they are much more honest and energetic than the latter, and in general a better race.

‡ There are besides large numbers of Mahometans in Shan-Si, Tchili, Yunnan and part of Sitchuan. In Peking itself they number as many as twenty thousand families. There is a sprinkling of Mahometans also in the Eastern Provinces of China. There is, however, no means of getting at the total number of Mussulmans throughout the empire. It is believed that in Northern China alone there are as many as four millions.

but, in the second place, to the lawlessness and tyranny of the Chinese administration. * This hatred is specially noticeable amongst the Dungans living on the oases along the Tyan-Shan (Shiho, Manas, Urumtchi, &c.) and the Nan-Shan (Su-Tchow, Han-Tchow, &c.), as well as throughout Han-Su. On more than one occasion while travelling in the vicinity of the town of Sinin, a large portion of the population of which is Mahometan, we heard bitter complaints of the unendurable yoke of the Chinese. For the Dungans, weakened as they have been by the recent prolonged struggle, accompanied as it was in places with wholesale massacres, to free themselves from this yoke without external aid is absolutely impossible. Any attempt in this direction could but result in increased misery. These considerations are sufficient to explain why the Dungans look towards Russia as their future deliverer, or, at least, as their ally in the coming struggle with the Chinese. It may, without hesitation, be affirmed that in a war with China we should find our most reliable champions amongst the Dungans. Repeatedly Dungans have asked us, "Are the Russians soon going to fight the Chinese?" adding, "Only let a single sotnia of Russians arrive, and we will rise to a man against the Chinese." Similar expressions we used to hear from the Mussulman soldiery, who form a by no means inconsiderable portion of the Chinese forces in Eastern Turkestan. It is highly probable that a similar sympathy, though perhaps less intense, exists towards us in the Northern Provinces of China amongst the local Mahometan population. Though their condition is better, still the same religious fanaticism, coupled with a certain sympathy for the sufferings of their co-religionists of the West, renders these Mahometans the secret enemies of China.

* This is especially the case since the suppression of the recent Mahometan rising. Prior to it the position of Mahometans in China was much better. Nevertheless, during the last three centuries there have been no less than three serious revolts against the Chinese, viz., at the time of the fall of the Ming dynasty, then a hundred years later, and again a hundred years later, during our own time.

The Mongols, especially the more Northern, are already, as frontier neighbours, well acquainted with the Russians, and, while animated with no very special love for the Chinese, are favourably disposed towards us. This may be to a great extent ascribed to the circumstance that the Chinese, while, as before described, endeavouring by a system of exemptions, &c., to gain over to their side the local chiefs and priesthood, completely ignore the remainder of the population. Thus the latter labour under a double yoke, to wit that of the Chinese authorities and that of their own chieftains, in addition to which all the various exactions of the priesthood have to be satisfied.

It is true that as regards this last point, the Nomads, as becomes true Buddhists, make no complaints; but they are far from viewing with the same indifference Chinese supremacy and Chinese tyranny. This is all the more so as the memory of their former independence and deeds of derring-do is by no means yet extinct among the Mongols; * while at the same time the restless spirit of the Nomad is ever longing for change. On the other hand, the Nomads instinctively recognize the fact that their existence as a separate independent State is no longer possible, and that they must submit to one or other of their powerful neighbours. The experience they have already gained of the evils attendant on Chinese supremacy has caused the Mongols to gravitate towards Russia, choosing as it were the lesser of two evils, as they hope to find under the sceptre of the White Tzar, who presents himself to their imaginations almost as a demi-god, a milder and juster rule. Such at least is the case amongst the Northern Mongols, that is, amongst the Khalkhas.† As regards the Southern Mongols, the

* Legends of this description are by no means uncommon in Mongolia, amongst which may be cited the forthcoming resurrection of Tchingiz-Khan.

† During my journey across the Gobi, from the Ala-Shan to Urga, in the autumn of 1880, when China was preparing to go to war with Russia on the Kuldja question, I was continually told by Khalkas Mongols that they had no intention of fighting with the Russians, but that, as soon as

Alashanis, Sunites, Urots, Tумыts, Tchakhars, &c., on account of their greater assimilation with the Chinese and their greater distance from our frontier, they are, I think, wholly indifferent as regards ourselves and the Chinese, and in the event of a collision between ourselves and the latter, they would side with the victorious party.

VI. THE CHINESE ARMY.

I shall now say a few words regarding the Chinese troops, whom during my travels I had frequent opportunities of seeing, not on parade or the drill-ground, but under the everyday conditions of their ordinary life, and hence, so to speak, in a state of nature unadorned with any artificial embellishments.

I will at once state that the reports regarding the Chinese Army, and the majority of the stories we hear of the rapid strides that it is making in the military art, are more or less exaggerated.* Ignorance of the Chinese language on the part of military men, the exclusiveness of the Chinese themselves, their skill in gulling the hated foreigner, and, finally, the fact that all reports regarding the Chinese Army that reach us have at the best been filtered through the hands of European instructors, who are interested parties and certainly not impartial, such are the data on which I base my opinion. It is true that China now possesses gun, small-arm, and gunpowder factories at the head of which are European superintendents; that her coasts are fortified, and that she has at her disposal a steam and iron-clad fleet:

war should be declared, they would come over to our side. Some were even preparing to transfer their herds to the north of Urga, feeling confident that we should shortly take possession of this, the sacred city of the Mongols.

* They are moreover exceedingly confused, and in some cases directly contradictory. The cause of this is the entire absence of any single guiding influence or any general plan in the military reforms undertaken in China. Each resolution bears unmistakably the impress of individuals or their party. The result is an abundance of excellent projects, but an entire want of intelligence in their execution.

but in the majority of cases a low standard of mediocrity is all that they have succeeded in attaining to.* Moreover, it must be remembered that the exclusive development of the technical side of the military art is by no means synonymous with progress in the warlike qualities of the individual soldier. The latter is the one fundamental element on which is built up the whole spirit of an army, on which depends its greater or less capacity for opposing an enemy. In the natural bravery of the soldier, his powers of endurance and discipline, lie the seeds of victory. With the Chinese soldier these elements are largely and often entirely wanting,† for every Chinaman is by nature pusillanimous, more attached than any other nationality to a quiet life and the domestic hearth, physically weaker than the European, and possessed by an extreme egotism which renders him perfectly incapable of submitting to a rigorous discipline. The Chinese Army is recruited in two ways, (a) as a caste, i.e., sons following their father's profession, or (b) by ordinary enlistment,‡ the former system ruling ordinarily amongst

* In Colonel Lobel's *Jahresberichte über die Veränderungen und Fortschritte im Militärwesen*, for 1885, we read: "The artillery ammunition turned out by the Chinese is very unsatisfactory. The coast defences (on the Ming and opposite Kelung) proved themselves during the recent war with the French to be in no case up to the mark. During the Tonkin expedition, the Chinese fleet failed even more than the army to answer the expectations that had been formed of it." This information is all the more valuable as emanating from a German source, when, as is notorious, by far the largest contingent of European instructors with the Chinese army consists of Germans.

† The Chinese soldier is of quarrelsome disposition, and sometimes shows an indifference to death, but he is not brave in the sense of the active display of this quality.

‡ As is well known, the Chinese Army is composed of two grand divisions, the Mantchu troops and the National troops. The former consist of the descendants of those conquerors (Mantchus with an admixture of Mongols and Chinese) who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, raised the present ruling Tsing dynasty to the throne. As a reward they were assigned lands in Peking and other portions (at present in ten provinces) of the empire; and the military profession was made hereditary, the very lowest official ranks being included. These military colonists, who to this day form the chief support of the throne, are divided into eight flags or corps, each under its own commander, and can place in the field, according

the dregs of the population. The result is that, in the vast majority of cases, as men they offer no moral guarantee whatever.

The officers, from those in the highest ranks to the lowest, appear in no better light. One and all, they are guiltless of any sort of military training.* In the majority

to their nominal establishments (in reality, however, much less) 230,000 men. The National Army consists of the Green Flags (Lu-in), and some separately recruited detachments (Yun). Both are drawn from the Chinese proper, while the latter are mere mercenaries, violent measures being often necessary to recruit their ranks. In conformity with the territorial division of the empire in eighteen provinces, the Green Flags are divided into eighteen corps, each of which is under the absolute orders of the local Governor-General or Governor. During peace time they carry on the police and postal duties. Their nominal establishment is 650,000; but in all probability this is far too high an estimate.

The specially recruited bodies, the *Yun*, are only raised in emergencies. They constitute an innovation dating from the period of the Taeping revolt. Their present numbers may be placed at about 100,000 men. Together with the territorial Green Flags, they constitute the principal contingent of the Chinese forces, as at present undergoing re-organization. Finally, belonging to the Chinese Army must be included contingents of Mongol cavalry and other foreigners. These irregulars are supposed to number more than 200,000 men, but, as a matter of fact, hardly reach one-tenth of that figure.

A popular Chinese proverb says: "Good iron is not made into nails; honest men do not become soldiers."

* Military training, properly so called, is absolutely non-existent in China. The classical military works which to this day form the basis of the art of war, as understood in China, date from the most remote antiquity, being more than three thousand years old. Sun-tze's writings are looked on as the standard authority. In his work, side by side with sound maxims regarding the art of war, we meet with the naivest counsels, as, for example, "Induce your enemy to commit shameful acts;" "Maintain relations with all the libertines in his camp;" "Spread in the camp of the enemy voluptuous musical airs so as to soften his heart;" "Observe with the lips, speak with the eyes;" "Execute without any mercy any one who betrays the plan of the campaign, as also any to whom his secret may become known; the latter are not guilty, but they may become so," &c., &c. In general, according to Chinese notions, cunning and deceit are of much more account in the art of war than warlike deeds and actions, and hence the leader before all must be a diplomatist. For the rest some rules and maxims of war have been translated from the German into Chinese, of which in all probability the Chinese were utterly ignorant; at the same time, for the proper appreciation of the same, some corresponding preliminary training is necessary, and of this there is none.

of cases they are arrant ignoramuses,* while moreover as commanders they are peculiarly fitted to corrupt the moral side of their subordinates, certainly not to elevate it. A universal addiction to opium smoking, plundering both the State and the private soldier, a life of debauchery, a complete indifference to duty—such are the chief qualities that characterize the most junior as well as the most senior officers of the Chinese Army. The discharge of the highest military offices is also not infrequently entrusted to persons drawn from the ranks of the Civil Government.† As regards the European instructors, who of late have shown such zeal in joining the Chinese Army—of course, in the first place, with a view to their own personal profit—their exertions, in view of the causes above set forth, will hardly be crowned with any substantial measure of success.‡ This is all the more likely to be the case, as the

* For admission to the rank of officer young men, whose names have been submitted as candidates, are obliged to pass an examination in archery, fencing with swords, and the lifting of weights; no other kind of knowledge is required. Those who acquit themselves successfully in three such examinations—viz., in the Township, the District Town, and the Provincial Town—obtain the desired title. Those who principally distinguish themselves are sent once in every three years to Peking, where, in presence of the Imperial Court, they sustain a similar competition qualifying them for staff duties. From naval officers, in lieu of any acquaintance with the special subjects of their profession, all that is required is skill in the use of the bow. A few years ago a military school was founded at Peking for the instruction of officers, and at Tientsin schools of gunnery and musketry. But, according to the report of one of the European officers in the Chinese service, who recently inspected these schools, “the desired results had not been attained.”

† This is done in view of the fact that in China for the attainment of civil rank a certain standard of education is obligatory, while for an officer all that is required is agility and physical strength. Hence the Chinese conclude that the civil officials have read more and know more about war than the military officers.

‡ When, after thirteen years of absence, that eminent vanquisher of the Taepings, the Englishman Gordon, recently slain at Khartum, was a second time invited in 1880 to Peking to give his advice regarding war with us on the Kuldja question, he underwent a considerable amount of disillusion regarding the progress attained, especially in relation to the reliability of what he had read and heard on the subject. In fact, Gordon met “the same Chinaman as of yore, covered only with a thin superficial coating of veneer.”

Chinese will only put up with these instructors temporarily, viewing them at best as a necessary evil, their sole object in suffering them at all being to secure themselves against these same foreigners.

In addition to the above facts it must be noticed that political considerations render it impossible for the present Mantchu Government, which maintains its supremacy in China solely by means of force and cunning, to develop to any considerable extent the National Army, and thus possibly to create a dangerous counterpoise to itself,* while, finally, it is notorious that in China the military profession is an object of contempt to all classes of society.

Thus three great factors—the natural inaptitude of the people for war, popular traditions, and the egotistical views of the Government—raise an insuperable barrier to any real military progress in China.† To break down

* Thus in 1867, immediately on the suppression of the Taeping revolt, Gordon's force of some five thousand men, amongst whom were several hundred foreigners, was disbanded. Again, in 1871, Li-Hung-Chang and Tso-Tsung-Tang, the most capable of the Chinese generals, proposed to concentrate the territorial corps in one powerful force near Peking. The Government, however, took fright at the measure, and insisted on preserving the old dislocation.

† At present the only portion of the army that has undergone any serious re-organization is Li-Hung-Chang's so-called "Model Corps," which is quartered in camps distributed between Tientsin and the sea coast. Prussian regulations have been introduced in this corps. The Infantry fire-arms are of the most modern systems. The Artillery, both field and mountain, is armed with Krupp breech-loaders. The Cavalry, however, except in so far as its armament is concerned, is still in its pristine condition, nothing beyond acrobatic tricks being required of it. There are no Engineers.

Other portions of the Chinese forces, which, though not re-organized, possess arms of modern pattern (Winchesters, Remingtons, Enfields, Sniders, Mausers, Albinis, Hotchkisses, Chassepôts, &c.), are quartered in Peking, Manchuria, the principal maritime districts, and other points of importance in the empire, and also on the New Line. The numerical strength of these forces is not known. In any case, however, it must be incomparably less than that of the old troops, the former training and equipment of which has suffered no change. For the rest even amongst these "modern troops" the ancient customs are still kept up—witness archery, the practice of which is still obligatory. It sometimes happens

such weighty obstacles, especially within a short space of time, is not merely a difficult undertaking, but absolutely impossible. The path of progress is everywhere strewn with difficulties, and in China it seems more than likely that its onward advance will be wholly barred. During the march of forty centuries the popular mode of life has been woven into far too complex a tissue, and the habits and customs of the people have become too deeply ingrained in them to allow of any great change. The delicate germs of European civilization will not flourish on such unfavourable soil.

Military progress, forming as it does part of every State organism, can only advance *pari passu* with the other side of the popular life; otherwise it would be deprived of all internal strength. It is for this reason that China under its present conditions, and probably indeed for many a long day yet, cannot possibly hope to create an army at all similar to those of European States. She lacks the proper material; she lacks the life-giving spirit. Let Europeans supply the Chinese with any number of arms that they please; let them exert themselves ever so energetically to train the Chinese soldiers; let them even supply leaders—the Chinese army will nevertheless, even under the most favourable conditions, never be more than an artificially created, mechanically united, unstable organism. Subject it but once to the serious trial of war—speedy dissolution will overtake such an army, which could never hope for victory over a foe animated with any real spirit.*

that while in the interior of the barracks a commander drills his men according to modern principles, the same will on the occasion of a public show parade exercise them with bow and spear.

Prior to the Tongkin war, the Chinese fleet consisted of forty-nine steamers with 286 guns. At sea, however, the Chinese proved themselves to be even more incompetent than on land.

* It is true that to conquer China now would be a more difficult undertaking than formerly. All the same, the late Tongkin war proved how little fitted even the reorganized Chinese troops are to carry out intelligent warlike manœuvres. Although the French during the course of the campaign suffered several reverses, yet these reverses were, for the most part,

I will now consider the Chinese troops posted along our frontier, on the New Line, that is to say, in Eastern Turkestan and Djungaria.

the result of the unfortunate choice made of the theatre of operations and of false moves on the part of the French themselves. To commence with, Tongkin is the last country in which to carry on a war with China, a distance of two thousand versts separating it from Peking, where alone it is possible to strike any serious blow at an enemy whose strength lies in passive resistance. In the second place, Tongkin is a country extremely ill-adapted to military operations, as all the better localities are thickly covered as in China proper with villages and farmsteads, the intervening country being occupied by fields intersected in every direction with irrigation canals. The configuration of the country offers at every step excellent defensive positions, while completely masking the dispositions of the defenders. The proper reconnaissance of such a thickly populated labyrinth was almost impossible. The native spies in all probability served their own countrymen better than their French employers. Interpreters, through whom to carry on intercourse with the inhabitants, were very scarce, while the mere possession of European features was sufficient to cause a man to be shunned by the natives. The climate is deadly: and finally the French forces consisted of not more than 25,000 men, who moreover had arrived in several different detachments, and were not too fully equipped. With all this what was the upshot? Although the French in several minor engagements and afterwards in the more important affair at Langson suffered defeat, yet the Chinese never seem to have understood how to profit by their victory or their enormous numerical superiority (in Tongkin there were actually 70,000 Chinese troops, besides Anamites and Black Flags). All the same the French remained victors at the close of the campaign. Can we conceive a force of similar insignificant numbers, with its base at the other end of the world making a descent on any, even the smallest, European state? It goes without saying that it would be crushed like a mouse.

It will not be without interest to quote here a few remarks contained in a small article on "The Tactics of the Chinese in Tongkin," which appeared in the "Journal des Sciences Militaires" for March, 1885, and which criticizes the warlike qualities of the modern Chinese soldier:—

"The Chinese troops were well armed, but their leaders were bad and they were not remarkable for their warlike spirit.

"The Chinese only pass to the offensive when in overwhelming numerical superiority; and on the offensive they are not formidable. Behind cover they defend themselves with great obstinacy; and they are very fond of ambushes.

"Their artillery practice is bad; in their works the embrasures are so small as to preclude any training of the piece, and are even sometimes completely closed. The supply of projectiles being insufficient they fire blank cartridge even at night.

"On the other hand, the small-arm fire of the Chinese from behind cover is good.

This force affords a simple example of the real state of the Chinese Army and its natural qualities, unmasked by any jealous surveillance (possible indeed only in the case of comparatively small bodies and in peace time) such as that under which Li-Hung-Chang's "Model Corps" is at present placed. If the Chinese warriors in question did crush the Dungan revolt and conquer Eastern Turkestan, yet these successes were entirely due, in the first place, to the unskilful and disconnected movements of the insurgents, and afterwards to the civil disturbances that broke out in Kashgaria on the death of Yakub-Beg. In both cases the Chinese won their laurels very cheaply,* thanks to a lucky conjunction of circumstances and the incapacity of their foe for modern warfare.

The Chinese troops quartered on the New Line, and in the Eastern Tyan-Shan Oases, are divided, as in China Proper, into (1) Mantchu Flags, of whom there are not many; (2) Green Flags (*Lu-in*); (3) enlisted troops (*Yün*); and (4) foreign militia.† The strength of these troops as regards numbers it is impossible to learn with any exactness; but many circumstances go to show that the total cannot

"The Chinese soldiery, even those innured to fire, easily get into confusion; in the open they will never stand.

"Select troops showed sometimes great tenacity behind cover.

"Accord between the various commanders was wholly wanting.

"Separate bodies not infrequently fought with each other.

"The troops brought from the Kashgarian frontier refused to take part in the military operations in Tongkin."

In Mongolia, in the vicinity of our frontier, the Chinese maintain only small detachments at Urga, Ulyasutay, and Kobdo; the frontier guards are furnished by Mongols. On the other hand, in Manchuria, opposite our Amur Province there are large numbers of Chinese troops, the town of Girin on the Sungar serving as their chief *point d'appui*.

* In the Chinese Army all correspondence of any sort with any one at home is strictly forbidden in time of war. Hence and in consequence of the entire absence of any sort of control the military commanders are able to report to Peking only such matters as they may judge to be expedient and not infrequently announce wholly imaginary victories. This occurred during the recent occupation by them of Eastern Turkestan.

† According to their armament these troops are divided into Infantry (*Bu-duy*), Cavalry (*Ma-duy*), and Artillery (*Pau-bin*).

at present much exceed 15,000 to 17,000 men. Of this number some 4,000 to 5,000 are quartered in Eastern Turkestan; about 4,000 are stationed in the Ili Province, chiefly in the valley of the Ili itself; some 3,000 in the Tarabagatay Province; and, lastly, some 4,000 or 5,000 perhaps are scattered over the Oases of the Eastern Tyan-Shan, from Manas and Ürümchi to Hami inclusive. The chief command of this army is held by the viceroy of the Tyan-Shan country, the official Lyu-Dzin-Tan or Lyu-Shao-Daryn. To him are subordinate the commanders of the troops in all the three provinces of the New Line.* Of the latter the Tsyau-tsyun of Ili is considered to be the senior and second in command to the commander-in-chief.

In these troops, as throughout the Chinese Army, the fighting and the administrative unit is the *lyanza* (in Mantchu troops the *Tchi*), the nominal establishment of which is in the infantry 500, and in the cavalry 250. It is rare, however, that the actual strength comes up to one half the nominal establishment. Each *lyanza* is under the command of an *Ingwan* whose name it bears; it is divided into five companies (in the cavalry five squadrons), which are in their turn sub-divided into sub-divisions and sections of ten. Each *lyanza*, in addition to its *Ingwan* and his second-in-command, has five company or squadron commanders with their assistants; there are also several officers to carry on the office duties and correspondence. The *lyanzas* are never united for the purpose of forming larger permanent fighting units. When the necessity arises a greater or less number of *lyanzas* are placed under the command of one leader, who takes the title of *Tun-lin*, or, should his command exceed twenty *lyanzas* or comprise the whole of the troops of a single province, *Zung-tun*. The artillery is not formed into batteries, although there exist artillery *lyanzas*. When the occasion arises the guns are incorporated with the infantry or cavalry *lyanzas*.

* In Ili and Tarabagatay the civil administration of the country is also in the hands of the military commanders (the Tsyau-tsyun and Amban).

Each *lyanza* commander is entire master of his *lyanza*. While receiving money from Government corresponding to the nominal establishment of his *lyanza*, he invariably keeps it much below the paper strength, and puts into his own pocket the money thus saved.* In addition to this even the effective men are defrauded of a large portion of their pay by their officers, this being indeed the invariable practice from the highest to the lowest ranks. In addition to the *lyanzas*, composed of Chinese proper and of Dungsans,† there have been formed in Eastern Turkestan two *lyanzas* of Yangi-Mussulmans ‡ and two Kirgiz *lyanzas*.

In the Ili Province and Tarabagatay, Sibos, Solons, and Kalmuks of various tribes are also called out for service. They form amongst the regular troops certain service sections. Properly, however, they compose the militia from which the frontier guards are drawn, carry the post, furnish transport convoys, and work on the Crown lands.§

There is no special term of service laid down for enlisted troops in China. In peace-time the soldier is free to quit his profession, but only with the consent of the *lyanza* commander. During time of war no one can leave the service. Service is obligatory on a foreigner from the age of twenty, the obligation remaining in force till he is very old. Promotion to the superior officer grades depends not only on the commander-in-chief, but also on the provincial military authorities, and is always subject to confirmation from Peking. No educational test whatever is required. As a rule it is the favourites of commanding officers, &c., not even excepting their personal servants, who attain the most rapidly to

* The Government is well aware of this, and indeed sometimes gives the command of a *lyanza* to a full general *by way of pension*!

† Dungsans hailing from outside the Wall are also sometimes met with in *lyanzas* of Chinese proper.

‡ Chinese who have been forcibly converted to Mahometanism, and who served under Yakub-Beg. On the approach to Kashgar of the Chinese forces these Yangi-Mussulmans once more changed sides, and seizing the fortress of Kashgar-Yangi-Shahr, delivered it over to their compatriots.

§ It not infrequently happens that soldiers of the regular forces also are told off for this work.

the rank of officer. As in the case of the rank and file, so also the officer can only quit the service with the sanction of his commandant. There is no such thing as pension on discharge provided for.

The pay of the rank and file varies according as they belong to this or the other arm. In the Infantry the private receives two to four *lans** *per mensem*; in the Cavalry three to six.† The militia receive half as much. Besides their pay the privates receive certain rations and allowances in kind. These consist of flour and fuel, sometimes rice, and in rare instances meat; in the cavalry, in which the horses are the property of Government,‡ straw or green grass, and Indian corn and barley are issued.

Occasionally money is issued in lieu of forage. Sometimes the *Inguan* himself supplies the forage for the cavalry horses, deducting the value from the men's pay. There is no system of company cooks or cooking; the men, as a rule, form themselves into small messes, the married ones of course living with their families. The pay of the officers, especially in the higher grades, is very considerable. Thus, for example, a *lyanza* commandant receives one hundred to one hundred and twenty *lans* a month, the company commanders twenty to forty, and the subaltern officers fifteen to twenty-five. In addition the officers like the men receive allowances in kind. During the last few years the pay of the troops on the New Line has been very irregularly sent from Peking. The consequence has been that the starving soldiery have pillaged the inhabitants, armed risings being not infrequently the result; *e.g.*, in 1884 at Urumtchi, Manas, and Shikho, and in 1885 in Ili, and at Kashgar.

At the principal town and certain other points of each province are located large commissariat stores under the

* The Chinese silver *lan* is on the average about equal to two of our metal rubles (or about 6s. 4d.).

† Possibly includes forage allowances.

‡ Except the Kalmuks and Kirgiz, who furnish their own horses.

control of special officials. The corn supplies for these stores are drawn partly from the Crown-lands and partly from the local population as an obligatory impost. An establishment of Government camels and horses is kept up for the transport of military impedimenta. The former are used as pack transport; the latter are harnessed to *arbas*, large two-wheeled carts. In addition, should it be required, transport is obtained by local requisition or by contract. Each *lyanza*, too, keeps up a small number of horse *arabas* and pack camels for the conveyance of the men's baggage, ammunition, &c. Hospitals or lazarets, together with doctors, are utterly unknown amongst the troops. Only at the chief point of each province is there to be found a doctor, who has at his disposal a small store of drugs. Except at these great centres the sick have to treat themselves according to their own lights. In time of war there is organized no sanitary department.

The Chinese soldier is clothed at the public expense,* the uniform, with a few exceptions, being identical in all corps. It consists of a coloured jacket, something like a woman's chemise, cotton or plush pantaloons, and leggings of the same description. Both in front and rear of the jacket is sewn a large white circle, bearing the description of the corps to which the wearer belongs. Under the jacket is worn a kind of long gown slit at the sides. As foot-coverings they use the Chinese shoe generally with felt soles, more rarely with leather, the legging of a semi-silk or plush material being as a rule fastened to them. Round the head covering the long pigtail is worn a particoloured handkerchief. This pigtail not unfrequently gets loose, and hanging down the back gives the beardless and whiskerless soldiers (every Chinese warrior is the same) the appearance of an actual woman.

The officers' uniform consists of a jacket (cloth or silk), but without the white circles. As ornamental head-dress serves a black felt hat, on the top of which is a ball coloured

* The militia wear their own national costume.

according to rank, and a feather from the tail of either a blue pheasant or a peacock. During the summer heat officers and men alike use fans.

The equipment of the Chinese troops on the New Line is most primitive. To this day, amongst the foreign militia, you may meet with bows and arrows, match- and flint-locks. The troops of the line, both infantry and cavalry, have a very miscellaneous armament, the .7" (?) percussion rifle of English, American, and sometimes also Tula manufacture, predominating. There are also to be found some rapid-firing weapons, principally Spencers, less frequently Martini Henrys, &c., but they form but a trifling percentage of the general armament. As it is, by no means the whole of infantry even is equipped with fire-arms; many are armed with swords, halberds, tridents, iron forks, and pikes. The latter as much as twenty-one feet in length, are formed of bundles of split bamboo, carrying near the end a large pennant of coloured material. This pennant serves the double purpose of an ornament and, according to the naïve explanation of the Chinese themselves, affording the possibility during the fight itself of so embarrassing the foe by winding round him as to take him alive! Better armed, clothed, and in general better cared for than the rest are the small detachments which serve as personal escorts to the military commanders.

The officers carry no armament of any kind; only when mounted do they have a sword attached, as is the custom with all Chinese mounted men, to the left side of the saddle.

The neglect with which their fire-arms, not even excepting rapid-firing ones, are treated is well-nigh inconceivable. One and all the barrels are so foul with dirt and rust that it is difficult to make out the rifling, while they are often bent, the breech mechanism damaged, sights broken, &c. But this is nothing! I can, as the result of personal observation, state that these men hack pieces off both stock and barrel, the latter thus remaining guiltless of any fore-sight whatever.

On the march the rifle is suspended from the side of the saddle or chucked like a log of firewood into an *arba*; in barracks they are kicked about anyhow. The men use them as a carrying bar on which to swing their water-pots; and on the march these same guns are even sometimes made use of as planks across the irrigation channels!

The men carry their cartridges in leather pouches, slung round their shoulders or at their waist. In the case of the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders the powder is generally carried separately from the balls in paper cartridges; and it frequently happens that the ball is not of the right calibre, either too little or too large. The cartridges for breech-loaders are supplied ready made up from China, whence also is brought in bulk the powder for the muzzle-loaders, the cartridges themselves being made up in each *lyanza*. There are no regular ammunition waggons in which to carry about the cartridges, which are transported either in *arbas* or on pack animals.

There are no small-arm factories, nor indeed any sort of special military workshops within the New Line rayon. Only at the provincial military head-quarters (at Dorbuldjin,* Suidun,† and Kashgar) are there small armourers' establishments for the repair of fire-arms and the manufacture of swords, bayonets, &c.‡ These establishments sometimes, too, make up powder, but it is of very indifferent quality. At these points are also located stores of cartridges, powder, and hand-to-hand weapons; and report has it that the supplies here accumulated of both percussion muskets and breech-loaders is ample, but in all probability it will be found that they have all been much damaged through ignorance and neglect. That this is so may be inferred from the fact that these storehouses do not consist of buildings properly fitted up for their purpose, but are merely ordinary sheds and huts. The retention of these arms in store is

* A fortress some 60 versts to the east of the town of Tchugutchak.

† Town and fortress 38 versts west of Kuldja.

‡ There are no armourers attached to *lyanzas*.

not only on account of the fact that the care bestowed on them (such as it is) is at any rate greater than would be the care were they left in the hands of the men, but also to avoid the danger of the latter rising on account of arrears of pay.

. . . In not the best of conditions is the Artillery of the New Line. Although it is impossible to give any exact idea as to the number of guns, either ancient or modern, as the Chinese observe the profoundest secrecy regarding them, and either lie or boast most abominably; at the same time, according to the various items of information which one way or another our officers have been able to glean from time to time, it may be concluded that the importance of the artillery is almost *nil*. The whole of it and its equipment has been supplied from China.

As above mentioned, the guns are not grouped into batteries, but are attached to *lyanzas*, according as the respective local authorities may think fit.* Gunners are supplied from these *lyanzas*, or from the so-called artillery *lyanzas*. Guns are not mounted on the ramparts of the forts and *impans*;† they are hidden in mud-huts in the interior of the forts. The information we possess leads to the belief that the total number of guns is not large, and that the breech-loaders, specially the steel mountain guns, do not exceed two or three score for the whole of the New Line force. In addition, these guns, at least such as our officers have been able to get a look at, are kept without any care, just as the small arms. Besides that the carriages are often more or less damaged, probably in consequence of the long distances they have been brought, the guns themselves are often coated with rust, not merely on the outside, but also on the interior, and the grooves of the rifling. In all probability the supply of ammunition is exceedingly meagre on account of the long transits necessary.

* In the fortress of Dorbuldjin, near Tchugutchak, alone has the local Amban formed a battery of five bronze M.L.R. pieces of approximately 4-pr. calibre.

† Defensible barracks, of which we shall speak further on.

The pieces are drawn by horses or mules. Apparently there are very few artillery waggons, two-wheeled *arbas* and pack-transport being used instead. Add to this that there is a total absence of any instruction, either theoretical or practical, in the gunner's art, and we may safely conclude that in the hands of the Chinese even the best of weapons would be but little dangerous to an enemy.

In addition to the artillery pieces the troops under consideration have in use a large number of the ancient fortress wall-pieces, called *taiphurs*, and this not only in the *impans*, but also with the service corps. These guns have a 7-foot long barrel with a calibre of over an inch; they throw a ball of lead or cast iron, and in place of an ordinary butt have a small handle. When in use the fore-part of the barrel is placed on a rest on the shoulder of a man who kneels down and holds the barrel behind the band, while a second soldier aims and lights the powder in the touch-hole with a match. The report is deafening, but its accuracy and range are by no means in proportion. On the march these *taiphurs* are carried either on pack animals or in *arbas*. For its service or escort each piece has from five to ten men told off to it.

Heterogeneous as is the equipment of the troops on the New Line, their training is if anything more so. Any just appreciation of even the most elementary requirements of the art of war on the part of the officers is absolutely wanting, not even excepting those in the highest ranks. Under such conditions it will be readily understood that to teach the common soldier anything at all about his profession is quite impossible. As a result, out of the mass of Chinese fighting men though you may get something which has some resemblance to a force, yet anything in the shape of an army in the European sense of the word is non-existent.

The *lyanzas* get very little military training; what there is, is chiefly carried out in the spring and autumn. There are apparently no military regulations laid down;

everything depends on the personal views of the *lyanza* commandant, or on the military chief of the province. In general there are but two formations, the deployed and the square. The chief attention is devoted to the performance of various acrobatic feats, not alone by single soldiers, but by whole bodies of men, e.g., sword exercise in musical time; jumping about and squatting down by ranks while performing these same exercises; the moving through certain figures by ranks, &c., &c. Of skirmishing and the use of the bayonet the Chinese have no notion; while marching in the drill sense of the word is absolutely unknown. On parade the Chinese soldier talks, blows his nose, and even sometimes smokes a pipe. The commandant of the *lyanza* who is holding the parade places himself in front or, more often, in the watch-tower of the *impan*. The officers as a rule do not take part in the parade; they remain with the commandant or stand on one side. Some of them hold bamboo canes with which they beat unmercifully stupid soldiers or such as may have committed offences. There are always numbers of flags and devices on parade. Musketry practice as such is never carried out by corps; very rarely individual men shoot at a mark. The whole art in musketry appears to consist in getting the men to load and fire as rapidly as possible, without troubling themselves at all about aiming; and hence it is that firing with blank cartridge is in such favour. Rarely do you meet an officer who himself knows anything about shooting. As regards the care of the rifle, cleaning it, taking it to pieces, &c., neither the officers nor the soldiers have the smallest knowledge. The troops on the New Line have no European instructors.

There are plenty of reviews and parades. Sometimes none of the men turn out for them or for drill, demanding that they shall first of all be paid the arrears due to them; and it sometimes happens that, with the necessity staring him in the face of holding a parade on the occasion of the arrival of some dignitary, the commandant issues to his

men a day's pay, much as if it was a case of wages for certain work.

The cavalry ride well and take good care of their horses; but the training they receive, based as it also is on acrobatic feats and shooting from horseback, renders them comparatively useless; while reconnaissance and outpost duties are wholly ignored. The artillery have no drill, and never practise with their guns.

*Guard duties seem to be despised by all arms alike. Apparently the only guards that are ever posted are at the gates of forts and *impans*. For these the *lyanza* as a rule tells off a detachment, the same detachment remaining on duty for a lengthy period; and accordingly the men migrate to the guard-house with the whole of their domestic goods and chattels, their wives and children even accompanying them. The duties are not carried on by day at all, the men doing as they please. It is only at night that sentries are posted.

When on the march no sort of order is observed. The officers as a rule go on ahead to the night-halt. The men go as they like or not at all—one man rides, another walks; one goes bare-footed, another without a coat. On the road they visit all inhabited spots on the look out for plunder. On the march the men obtain their rations by requisition on the local population. To carry his kit the soldier is served out with a linen bag instead of a knap-sack. His kit, however, is generally carried with the baggage; indeed he often does not even carry his own rifle, this not infrequently finding a place on an *arba*. If he does happen to carry his rifle on the march, he will shoot at such birds and beasts as he may see or simply at random in the air. With all this it must be allowed that the Chinese soldier is as a rule a good marcher, and moreover is not particular as to his food on the march.

The defensive buildings, which have several times been alluded to under the designation of *impans*, have the appearance of square mud forts, of from 70 to 130 yards face,

with crenellated walls from 14 to 21 feet high, with flanking towers at the corners, and sometimes a shallow ditch in front. In one of these faces is formed a gate, covered from the front by a small wall. Inside the *impan* are built barracks for the men in the form of a long row of small mud-built rooms under one long roof of reeds—in some cases attached to the fort walls, in others separate. Each chamber accommodates from five to ten men. The apartments are warmed by stove-beds made of clay, on which the men sleep; the floors are earthen, and the square hole that does duty as a window is covered over with paper previously steeped in fat. Sometimes a hole in the roof is the only opening, the window being suppressed. The dwellings in question are, as a rule, cold and filthy. The married men live with their families in separate barracks of similar description.

The quarters of the commandant of the *lyanza* and the officers have little to distinguish them from those of the privates; they are built inside the barracks, but are detached from the men's.

Each *impan* contains as a rule one *lyanza*, with its horses, commissariat stores, fuel, forage, &c. The *impans* are only adapted for musketry fire, and that, too, but indifferently, as regards either flanking fire or mutual defence. The only object of these erections is, according to the Chinese themselves, to ensure a better control over the men. This is indeed in a measure true; but the chief reason is the native cowardice of the Chinese soldier, and his *penchant* for fighting behind cover.

Impans are found in all three provinces of the New Line, in the majority of cases in proximity to our frontier, e.g., at Dorbuldjin, Boro-tola, Suidun, and in the western portion of Eastern Turkestan. They are erected partly by the local population, their labour being, as a rule, obligatory and seldom paid, and partly by the men themselves, the Chinese soldier being in general habituated to such work.

In the larger towns of the New Line the Chinese have erected (or in many cases have taken from the insurgents) more solid works, known as *yangi-shahrs*, or "new towns." In these *yangi-shahrs* are located, in addition to troops,* the military and civil administration of the district, commissariat, clothing, small-arm and artillery stores, and, where they exist, the military workshops. Here is also the bazaar (Chinese and native), and the dwellings of the traders and their families. The *yangi-shahr* varies in dimensions as a rule between 230 and 460 yards across, sometimes even more.† The walls are formed of clay, from 28 to 42 feet in height, and very thick, with a defensible parapet on the top. The shape of the *yangi-shahr*, like that of the *impan*, is quadrilateral, more rarely polygonal. At the corners and at intervals along the faces are placed flanking towers. In front there is a ditch, fitted in some cases with sluices for letting in or draining off the water at pleasure, and a small advanced parapet. Three or four gates lead into the fort, covered by semi-circular traverses. These gates, like those of the *imfans*, are closed at night.

For defence by guns the *yangi-shahr* is but little adapted, for, with the exception of the few towers, there is no room not only for field or fortress guns, but even for mountain guns. For the defence of these strongholds the Chinese count far more on small-arm fire and overwhelming the adversary with hand-missiles in the shape of stones, of which there are generally large heaps collected on the ramparts. Another point in which the *yangi-shahrs* are very defective is that, while they are often built at the foot of commanding heights, yet they are entirely without anything in the shape of blindages. Again, the town buildings and gardens often come right up to the ramparts, the near

* Within the *yangi-shahr* the men's barracks are also sometimes enclosed in an *impan*.

† Thus the Kashgar *yangi-shahr* appears to greatly exceed the rest, being more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ versts in circumference, while its shape is that of an irregular pentagon.

approach to which is thus greatly facilitated. In a word, these fortified posts do not satisfy the most elementary requirements of modern warfare.

Turning now to the interior economy and *morale* of the Chinese troops on the New Line, we are confronted with an even more melancholy spectacle. The causes of this are, on the one hand, the natural unfitness of the soldier himself for the warlike art, his cowardice, and his low moral level; and, on the other, the in the highest degree unsatisfactory condition of the officers, not even excepting those in the very highest ranks. In addition to the crassest ignorance on the part of all ranks alike in every matter connected with their profession, the officers equally with the men are wholly devoid of any notions of either honour or duty.* There exist no moral restraints, nor have the commanders the slightest moral authority over their subordinates in the service. Every officer, from the lowest to the highest ranks is, before everything, a thief and a robber in the eyes of the soldier, whom, in truth, he plunders in the most shameless manner. The officers, and like them the men, are one and all addicted to opium smoking; and this curse of opium, as is well known, destroys both the physical and moral powers of its victim. There is no sort of surveillance exercised over the soldier, much less any attempt to educate him. Beyond the rare occasions of drill the private passes the whole day exactly as he chooses, even to the extent of trading in a small way in the bazaar. At night only is he obliged to be present in barracks, when he then and there proceeds to his beloved opium. The officers also pass the entire day with, so to speak, their hands in their pockets. They smoke opium all night, and slumber generally till noon.

The intercourse of the officers with one another, and their bearing towards the men, is most extraordinary;

* *E.g.*, a characteristic punishment for a soldier who has committed an offence is his being told off as a *front rank man* in case of battle!

sometimes characterized by excessive familiarity; at others by the stiffest etiquette and *exigence*.*

The result is a total want of all true discipline, in spite of the fact that even the junior officers have the right to subject their men to severe corporal punishments; while the officer commanding the province, or the commanders of some *lyanzas* (*Tun-lin*), may inflict death. All this severity, however, for the regulation of which there is no law but the arbitrary will of those in authority,† simply conduces to frequent desertion and to armed révolts on the part of the soldiery.

The Chinese soldier does not attempt in the least to conceal his hatred for his officers and the military authorities generally. Accordingly the latter generally surround themselves with an escort composed of their own adherents. In consequence, in every branch of the military world reigns terrible confusion and anarchy, heightened generally by gross ignorance on the part of the superior officers.‡ Their

* Officers often spend their time in company with their men, both in and out of barracks; often subjecting themselves, as a consequence, to rude sallies and even insults at the hands of the latter, who, in accordance with an absurd custom, completely ignore any officer not belonging to their own *lyanza*, and even superior officers if not directly under their orders. At other times, more especially in front of strangers, the Chinese officer treats the common soldier with haughtiness and even contempt. The relations of the commanders of the different corps to their officers are similar. Before strangers the latter dare not even sit down in presence of their superiors. They even wait on them at table, or serve them with tea and pipes, like soldier-servants with us. When, however, there is no reason to show off, these officers are hail fellows well met with their superiors.

† There are no regulations regarding punishments, and military courts do not exist in the Chinese Army. For ordinary offences the soldier is arraigned before the civil authority; for military offences the cruellest punishments are, at the pleasure of the commander, inflicted; a thousand, or it is said two thousand and more, strokes with a bamboo cane, leg-irons, the pillory, and death. For officers the punishments consist of arrest, deductions from pay, reduction in rank, and finally flogging with bamboo canes, with or without degradation. Any of the above may be carried out on the authority of the commander-in-chief, or even of the general of the province, a report being made to the War Minister at Peking. An Imperial order is necessary for the punishment of a general.

‡ *I.e.*, the present commander of the forces in Eastern Turkestan is an official named Dung, who is totally without education.

knowledge of their own profession, as has been more than once stated, will not bear the mildest criticism. It may be confidently affirmed that the commander-in-chief of the Chinese forces on the New Line understands much less of the requirements of modern warfare than any single one of our subaltern officers taken at random.

Such, then, are the general and most striking characteristics of that portion of the Chinese Army which is nearest to us. Their absolute want of military training is sometimes perfectly astounding. The above facts are the result of my own personal observations, verified by the investigations of other Russian officers. I repeat that these characteristics may be looked on as attaching in greater or less degree to the whole Chinese military world, for "the tree is generally known by its fruit."

VII. OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA.

If any one considers the various facts that have been alluded to in the foregoing pages, regarding the instability of the Chinese power amongst the populations of Central Asia on our borders, the great sympathy of these same populations towards the Russians, the miserable condition of China's military forces, he will probably arrive at the conclusion that our position in Central Asia, in so far at least as China is concerned, leaves nothing to be desired. The contrary is, however, the case. Commencing with our first embassy to China, in the year 1653, down to the recent refusal on the part of that Power to ratify the Treaty of Livadia, all our relations with the Middle Empire have been based on the much vaunted friendship of two hundred years' duration; in reality, however, on a two-hundred-year-old policy of subserviency and sycophancy towards her. The only consolatory exceptions during all this long period are the energetic action of Count Raguzinsky, who in 1727 concluded the treaty which laid the foundation of our Khiakhtha trade; and those similar actions in the latter

portion of the present century on the part of Counts Muravieff and Ignatieff, by which we obtained the Amur country. At this period the spirit of the Chinese was all but broken, especially after the fright administered to them in the Anglo-French war of 1860. The menacing insurrection of the Taepings had not at this date been put down, and almost immediately the Dungan revolt broke out. It seemed as if the last hour of the Mantchu dynasty, which since 1644 had sat on the throne of China, had now struck ; but no, not quite yet ! True to her traditional policy of passive endurance and resistance, China gradually settled her account with the insurgents both in the south and the west, provided herself with munitions of war from Europe, and demanded from us the promised retrocession of the Kuldja region. Lengthy negotiations resulted in the cession by us of this country. This cheaply won success only served to embolden the Chinese still further. Recognizing, in common with all Asiatics, only the strength that does not yield, they mistook our pliancy for fear and weakness, and have, especially of late, manifested great overbearingness and haughtiness even in their border intercourse with us. I am not now speaking of the Amur country which lies limitrophe with Mantchuria—always so hostile to us ; there the insolence of the Chinese is at times absolutely unbearable. But even on the side of Mongolia and the Tyan-Shan country, where China with great difficulty maintains her authority, there also the Chinese, with almost inconceivable impudence, and, for the most part, with impunity, one and all insult both our frontier officials and our consuls, infringe treaty conditions, impede our trade, &c., &c. Other races residing in the vicinity of this frontier see and know all this. Our prestige, which has already received a heavy blow in the cession of Kuldja, is becoming lower and lower each year in the frontier districts. On the other hand, in spite of any desire they may entertain to the contrary, the significance of Chinese power is increasing in the eyes of the natives. In the higher Govern-

ment spheres in China, the wish, in its origin perhaps not quite innocent of foreign influence, is openly expressed to measure themselves with us on the field of battle, while the results of Chinese victories are discussed in advance. In a word, our much lauded two centuries of friendship, notwithstanding all our efforts to prolong it, even at the price of concessions and indulgence, hangs in reality by a thread, which any day may snap in two.

It must also be remembered that China never had, and certainly to-day has not, any sincere desire to enter into close intercourse with foreigners. On the contrary, to rid themselves of the "foreign devils," and to live as formerly isolated—this is the one sacred dream of the entire Chinese nation and its Government. This is to a certain extent comprehensible if we remember the wrongs and aggressions suffered by China at the hands of foreigners, commencing with the privileged position assumed in this country by all foreigners in general and by missionaries in particular, who, forsaking the real duties of their calling, create an *imperium in imperio*, down to the commercial exploitation of the country, and the forcible importation of opium * with the concomitant poisoning of the flower of Chinese manhood. China properly speaking has no such cause of complaint as regards us. We have always been too yielding and kind in our dealings with our neighbours. Even our occupation of the Amur country cannot be pointed to as an especially high-handed proceeding on our part, as this district never *de facto* belonged to China.

Nevertheless, as we said above, China maintains towards us politically, if we may use the expression, a most ungrateful attitude. *Although in virtue of treaties,† concluded during the last fifty years, we have considerably extended our commercial rights and diplomatic relations with the Middle Empire; have obtained permission to

* As much as £12,000,000 annually.

† The treaties of Kuldja, Aigun, Tientsin, Peking, and St. Petersburg.

maintain a Representative at Peking,* and Consuls in the ports opened to Europeans and in certain towns close to our land frontier; yet the practical results attained are very small. As before, the Chinese treat us with scorn; as before, they place impediments in the way of our commerce; as before, they clutch at every available opportunity for disregarding this or that condition of this or that treaty. Every impartial person, whose business lies either in China or on our Chinese frontier, will corroborate this. There are strong reasons, too, for doubting the value of the existing treaties; for in China, more than anywhere else, in view of the blind hatred for Europeans, which animates the whole population, and the frequent transfer of power in Government circles from one party to another, a treaty only maintains its binding force in so far as it is guaranteed by the material strength of the contracting parties. Professor Martens† spoke very truly when he said that "International rights cannot be taken into account when dealing with semi-barbarous populations." ‡ They must have before their eyes a visible force, which alone they recognize and respect. So also

* Formerly diplomatic intercourse between Russia and China was confined to the sending of special missions. These missions on our side but rarely attained their object, while they always experienced more or less the haughty, even contemptuous bearing towards us of the Chinese authorities. Matters went to the extent of the Peking Government, when it saw the obstinacy of our Envoy, demanding that he should be replaced by a "more discreet person."

† See his remarkable brochures, "Russia and China," "Russia and England in Central Asia."

‡ And is China not to be included among such? A country which the petrifying influence of a legendary antiquity has rendered inimical to all progress; in which reverence for the past has attained almost to the dignity of a religious cult: in which science exists only as a mummy; in which the principles, on which the moral, domestic, and social life of the community is built up, were elaborated at a date long antecedent to our era; in which the population is without religion, without enthusiasm; in which material advantage forms the sole idol of each and all; in which, finally, the foreigner with his innovations—be they good or bad matters not—is looked on as a sworn foe:—such a country may, without any great straining of words, be denominated semi-barbarous.

China. Receiving palpable evidence of the enormous strength of the maritime Powers, she puts her tail between her legs; while towards us, seeing our yieldingness, she bristles up. Our position is still further paralysed in the Celestial Empire by the predominating influence at Peking of foreigners, and probably by the intrigues of some among them.

It is said sometimes that China renders us an indirect service in keeping under her rule the populations of Central Asia, but such a view is hardly correct. The Nomad Mongols of the present day can only be in a minor degree formidable to us; while Chinese supremacy over the Mahometan population of Central Asia is conducive, as explained before, not to quiet and order among them, but, on the contrary, to ever freshly occurring revolt. These revolts, especially in the event of success, might not be without a certain reaction on the Mussulman populations of the neighbouring Russian provinces.

But little better are our commercial relations with China, at least, under their present condition. Although down to the close of the first half of the present century we were almost without commercial rivals in the country, and had for more than one hundred and fifty years been carrying on a trade *via* Kiakhta, nevertheless the entire value of our trade (import and export) with the Celestial Empire was in 1884 only some 24½ millions of rubles. At the same time the sea-borne commerce of the Western Powers with China, which is of comparatively recent origin, has grown so rapidly, especially that of Great Britain, that its yearly total already shows the respectable figure of 1,100 to 1,200 millions of francs. It is clear that competition here is for us out of the question, and that none of the maritime provinces of China can ever form a Russian Market.* But in the provinces beyond the Great Wall,

* Out of a grand total of 22,970 vessels (17,300 steamers, 5,670 sailing-vessels) visiting the Chinese ports open to Europeans in 1880, and carrying a total cargo of some sixteen millions of tons, only forty-one flew the Russian flag, while their total cargo was only about 50,000 tons.

and, indeed, in the North-western Provinces of China Proper, Han-Su and Shan-Si, the trade of which has long taken the direction of Mongolia and Thibet, we may be able to develop and consolidate our commercial operations. As time goes on, convenient opportunities may perhaps occur for penetrating further into China Proper.

Under any circumstances the only chance of any real improvement in our Chinese trade lies in the at any rate partial removal of these causes which, until now, have acted as its chief impediments.

Among these causes, in addition to the competition out of all proportion of the maritime Powers, who, with enormous capital at their disposal, flood the ports open to them with cheap wares, we must place in the forefront the unscrupulous conduct regarding our commercial treaties with them of the Chinese, and the vexations to which our traders on our land frontier are exposed from the Chinese Administration.

Thus Mantchuria is to all intents and purposes completely closed to our trade, in spite of the fact that the Aigun Treaty of 1858 accorded us free navigation on the Sungar River. In Mongolia, too, apart from the question of the tea-transit trade, which goes exclusively *viâ* Kiakhta, our commerce with the Nomads is greatly impeded by local trading companies of Chinese (principally Shan-Si) merchants. These companies have each their own well-defined rayon, and besides supplying cheap wares suited to the taste and wants of the Mongols, they are "in with" the local Chinese Administration, thus almost excluding the possibility of competition on our part. Lastly, in Eastern Turkestan, where Chinese trade is insignificant, and ours has received its chief development, thanks to the long-standing gravitation of this district towards the former Khanate of Kokand (now the Province of Fergana), the Chinese one and all impede in the most unscrupulous manner our trade, even using violence to Russian subjects. It is only since a Russian Consul has been established at

Kashgar that our position has been to some extent ameliorated. It may be said generally that, if our trade is to progress in extra-mural China, we must, in addition to the consulates already existing, viz., at Urga, Tchugutchak, Kuldja, and Kashgar, establish fresh ones at all important trade centres.

Then, too, there are not wanting causes on our own side operating to curtail the development of Russian commerce both in Central Asia and China. Such, for instance, are the absence of large capitalists, the insufficiency of financially sound trading firms, and in general of extended initiative in this direction. In addition, the trifling dimensions so far of our colonization on the Chinese frontier, the absence there of any manufacturing industry, the unsatisfactory state of the means of communication—all these, taken together, present a heavy sum total of unfavourable conditions calculated seriously to militate against the proper development of trade. And yet, even now, certain Russian wares, such as Russia leather, plush, woollen cloth, and iron in various forms find a fair market in Mongolia.* The same wares, too, in a less degree, prints, various cotton and woollen materials, copper instruments, sugar, &c., obtain an easy sale in Eastern Turkestan.† Further, the raw produce, such as wood,‡ cattle,§ &c., from Siberia

* Our trade with Mongolia is almost exclusively one of barter. It is spread over the whole of Northern Mongolia as well as in the towns Urga, Ulyasutay, and Kobdo.

† The trade in Eastern Turkestan is almost entirely in the hands of Russian subjects, natives of Fergana and other districts of Russian Turkestan. These persons are known in Eastern Turkestan under the general denomination of Andijans. The total value of this trade, imports and exports combined, reached in 1882, according to the report of the Russian Consul at Kashgar, 2,200,000 rubles.

‡ At the present time wood from the neighbourhood of Urga in the shape of planks and beams is carried to Kalgan by camels on their return journey. One pood (about 36 lbs.) of wood on arrival there costs about the equivalent of a ruble. What quantities of wood could we not pour into China and Japan by sea from the huge forests of the Amur country!

§ The Chinese, who are wholly destitute of pasturage and stock, are greatly in want of cattle, which they obtain chiefly from Mongolia, and even

might form the staple of a considerable trade with China Proper.

Of course the question of the development of our trade with China is a matter calling for the consideration in all its various aspects of specialists ; but we may say in anticipation that, until a radical change be effected in our relations with China, to place this trade on a wider and securer basis is not to be thought of. Unhappily, the favourable solution of the many vexed questions which confront us in the matter is hardly to be attained by peaceful means. I repeat that to every one of our frontier officials the growth year by year of the arrogance and insolence of the Chinese is well known. It is quite on the cards that China, her head turned by her recent successes against the Dungans, and, to a less extent, in Tongkin, and by the retrocession of Kuldja, and egged on possibly by our foes, will herself declare war against us at the first convenient opportunity. It may be that the moment is not very far distant. Such a war need give us no cause for anxiety, neither on the score of our own chances of victory, nor on that of the improvement of our position in Asia in general, and in China in particular. However great an evil war may be in itself, doubtful peace is hardly more of a blessing, as all Europe is now finding out. As regards China, too, we may rest perfectly assured that her policy towards us will undergo no change, at least of a permanent character, without a very decisive exhibition of strength on our part. Whether we like it or no, we have a long account which must be settled, and palpable proof given to our haughty neighbour, that Russian spirit and Russian courage are equally potential factors, whether in the heart of Great Russia or the Asiatic Far East.

N. PRJEVALSKY.

from the neighbourhood of Ulyasutay and Kobdo. Northern China might in the same manner obtain a cheap supply of cattle from the Kirgiz steppes.

THE AFGHAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION

WHEN the historian comes to describe the progress and result of that Titanic struggle, still perhaps buried in the remote future, but every year none the less surely approaching, which shall decide whether the Englishman is to remain the Lord of Asia or to cede his pride of place to the Russian, he will certainly fix upon the epoch from 1884 to 1887 marked by the labours of the Afghan Boundary Commission as forming the first and preliminary stage of the contest. The events precedent to the occupation of Merv and the nomination of Commissioners by the two Governments will sink into obscurity and perhaps oblivion, and the critical phase of the question will be recognized as commencing with the first serious attempt of England and Russia not so much to define their spheres of action, as to impose some restraint on their conquering careers, so that the inevitable collision may be postponed, and when it does come that its effect may be alleviated. If we take a philosophical view of the Central Asian question during the last twenty-five years, we find that the progress of Russia towards India, both from the Steppe and from the Caspian, may be likened to the speed of an express train, while that of India towards Russia, although the forward movement has been one rather of extension of interest than of open conquest, has within the last six years been hardly less rapid and remarkable, until at last the Two Empires have met as palpably on the Herat frontier and on the Oxus as if they had joined in mortal fray on the borders of India herself. The pessimists who declare that because England gave way when deceived about Khiva and tricked about Merv she will not stand firm to maintaining the integrity of that part

of the Afghan frontier which has now been agreed upon between the two Powers, have not merely to strain fact, but to beg the whole question. It is always difficult to say what the English people will do in any hypothetical case, for the opinion of this country is swayed as much by sentiment as self-interest, and is ever loth to go out of its way to create strife, or to convert what may only be doubtful acts into *casus belli*. But if there is one thing more than another that shocks the public mind of this country it is a clear breach of faith, such as any infraction of the newly-defined Afghan frontier would amount to, and notwithstanding some recent discouragement, the belief may still be held that the heart of the country beats as sound in matters of national honour as of yore, and that its political action will, when the occasion comes, be not unworthy of its past fame.

The note which has found expression elsewhere that the Afghan Frontier Commission has been an unmeaning farce will find no echo in these pages, for if this description be verified by the results it can only be due not to the perfidy of Russia, but to the weakness of England. . . Let us remember there is no law, human or divine, which makes it heinous for Russia to acquire what we have seized if we have not the strength and the wisdom to retain it. The Commission had its origin in an act on the part of Russia which we regarded as being in contravention of certain pledges given by the Russian Government, reference is made of course to the occupation of Merv. When the Turcoman capital was occupied the attitude taken up by our Government was perfectly sound and proper. It may be, however, expressed in the following language: "You have taken possession of a place which you declared to be without the sphere of your operations. By the letter of your declarations we might call upon you to evacuate Merv, and in the event of your refusal to treat it as a legitimate cause of war; but whether we think, theoretically, Merv worth fighting about or not we are prepared to acquiesce

in your remaining there on certain clear conditions. With the occupation of Merv our complaisance, however, comes to an end, and we insist on the clear definition of of the boundary between Afghanistan and the Czar's possessions, so that there may be no ambiguity as to the points, at which Russian troops must halt in their advance towards India." The very nature of this diplomatic agreement showed that it was entirely different from all the previous interchanges of views about the Khanates and the Turcomans, and that it would define a situation which for as long as it remained without serious alteration or breaking up would be subject to the respect of the two Powers, and it is an inexcusable *bêtise* on the part of those who dread Russia to openly declare their conviction that she need not respect this boundary any more than she did her past pledges. This is not the sound or the popular view of the Convention, and in the interests of peace Russia cannot too clearly realize that she may only violate this frontier at her peril. We must add that we give Russia the credit of having no present intention of violating it.

This disparaging criticism of the arrangement just concluded derives its point and cogency from the unfortunate Penjdeh incident, and from our giving way generally during the first stage of the negotiation ; but the successful firmness with regard to Zulfikar and Kham-i-Ab has made some amends for a bad beginning. Indeed, if it were the fashion of the English Government to extol its own diplomatic successes it might make much capital out of its retention of Kham-i-Ab, for Russia had technically a good case, as any body of jurisconsults would have ruled that place out of Afghanistan after the specific mention of Khojah Saleh in the Salisbury-Staal Protocol of September, 1885. The Frontier Commission has, therefore, not been unqualified humiliation for us, and its labours might be regarded, for all practical purposes, with considerable satisfaction but for the bloodshed at Pul-i-Khisti. The remem-

brance of that passage should strengthen our purpose to make this boundary more substantial than a mere paper guarantee, and to support the Ameer in maintaining "the workable frontier" which he desired, and which we believe he has now obtained.

No useful purpose would be served by presenting the reader with a necessarily bald summary of the course of the Commission from the appointment of Generals Lumsden and Zelenoy as Commissioners in the summer of 1884, to the signature of the fourth and final Protocol on July 22, 1887, by M. Zinovieff and Colonel Ridgeway. The details are preserved in the Blue Books, to which reference can be made for verifying dates and for information as to the *personnel* of the two Commissions. A more interesting subject is suggested by an attempt to appraise the political value of this Convention, and to arrive at some definite opinion as to how events will progress in consequence of this first understanding of an unequivocal character, with regard to the position in Central Asia. In endeavouring to solve the problem, it is clear that another factor is the most important of all, and that the agreement or disagreement of England and Russia must very largely depend on the internal condition of Afghanistan, and on the attitude of its ruler.

It would be a very great mistake to suppose that this Convention can have no real value as a check upon Russia's advance towards India, and, although I have no great faith in the sanctity of Russia's promises, I do not believe the argument can be fairly advanced or sustained that Russia has only agreed to the delimitation of the North-west Afghan frontier from Zulfikar to Kham-i-Ab, with the express intention of violating the agreement at the first favourable opportunity. Although Russia has never been known to turn from her course, her proceedings have always been marked by great ingenuity in the manipulation of phrases, and extraordinary skill in turning the political situation of the world to her own personal advantage.

While I think that Russia regards Afghanistan as being, according to her experts in international law, an arena in which her diplomacy may legitimately pit itself against ours, it would be going too far to assume that she has the intention to assail Afghanistan on that part of the frontier lying between the Heri Rud and the Oxus. The danger lies firstly, at other points on the Afghan boundary, and secondly, in the confident expectation that internal strife must before long break out in that country, and if the day of popular outbreak be too long postponed, then that measures can easily be taken to expedite it. It is as impossible for us to assume that Russia has any fixed intention of violating the recent Convention, as it is to suppose that English opinion would tolerate such a breach of faith, and so long as the Ameer remains in possession of the throne, we do not expect Russia will make any further advance up the Heri Rud or the Murghab, or that she will take any steps to molest the Afghans at Kham-i-Ab. Those acts will only follow some distinct attempt to detach Herat or Balkh from the Ameer's rule, and Ayool's recent fiasco is not encouraging for those who think that Abdurrahman can be easily dispossessed of his kingdom.

While we look forward to a peaceful period at those places which have been most before the English public during the last three years, we by no means anticipate that Russia will leave off playing the old game in Central Asia. The scene will be merely shifted, and we venture to predict, with some degree of confidence, that it will be both east and west of the line of recent demarcation that Russia's sustained activity will be exemplified. Could we feel sure that there has not been going on, during the last few months, an extraordinary *rapprochement* between the Courts rather than the Governments of St. Petersburg and St. James's for a definite object, we should have no hesitation in saying that Major Peacocke and Captain Yate will not have finished their labours at Kham-i-Ab before there will be a determined effort to re-establish a Bokharan protectorate

over the Pamir Khanates up to Roshan and Shignan, and to sow the first seeds of dissension in the Afghan territory of Badakshan.* But the danger of prophesying at present, on the subject of these frontier details, lies in the fact that a great effort is being made to bring the interests of England and Russia into line, and to show that there is room for both in Central Asia, by a political *tour de force* of an unexpected nature. But even if it proves susceptible of realization, the permanent and irreconcilable interests of the two Empires can never be harmonized by dynastic affection and connections, and Russia might still feel justified under these circumstances in pressing the claims of her client, the Ameer of Bokhara, so far as to gain for him an addition of territory on the Upper Oxus as an equivalent for his concessions with regard to the Samarcand railway, and the line more recently proposed and commenced along the Oxus towards Kerki.

It is in the region of the Upper Oxus that we must look for the next manifestation of Russian activity in Central Asia, and it is even possible that the claims of Bokhara may be used so skilfully that even a closer understanding

* In the communiqué furnished by the Russian Foreign Office to the Official Messenger (of which a translation appeared in *The Times* of 20th September), occurs the passage: "In 1873 the rights of Shere Ali were recognized over Badakshan and Wakhan, which at that date could not be considered Afghan provinces." This statement implies an admission that they are now. It should be read, however, by the light of the following passage from the Russian Blue Book of 1886 (see *The Times*, November 1st and 12th, 1886):—

"It was only in 1883 that the first signs of a complication began to reveal themselves on the Afghan-Bokharan frontier. Having become involved in a quarrel with the hereditary Governor of Shignan and Roshan, Shah Yusuf Ali Khan of Badakshan invaded his territory and carried him off as a prisoner to Cabul. Shignan and Roshan were not among the states subject to the Ameer as defined in the Anglo-Russian arrangement of 1872-3. Consequently the Imperial Government felt bound to address the British Cabinet and to beg to exercise its influence with the Ameer to induce him to recall the Governor appointed to those two districts by the Khan of Badakshan as well as the Afghan garrison which had been left under his orders. The negotiations that were entailed by the Russian annexation of Merv interrupted the progress of those explanations necessary for the re-establishment of the legal position on the Afghan-Bokharan frontier."

between England and Russia than ever seemed attainable will not prevent the execution of the schemes of detaching the Pamir-Khanates from the Ameer. In the execution of this policy, Russia need take as little overt part as in the earlier stages of the plan, which may be already said to have begun by the Ameer of Bokhara's nomination of Ajum Khan, the ex-governor and native chief of Darwaz, to command the troops in that district. If we may infer from the small degree of success Russia has herself met with in overcoming the prejudices of and in assimilating to her rule the people of Karategin, that these petty states derive from their origin, as well as from the character of the region they inhabit, a capacity of passive resistance, which might be extremely irksome to Russia whenever she advances in this quarter, and which she would like to see sapped, if not overcome, by preliminary operations undertaken at the risk and on the responsibility of Bokhara alone, then the motive of Russia in encouraging the head of Islam in Central Asia to encroach in this direction becomes clear. The Russian Government is not disposed to make any serious attempt at present to re-open that part of the Afghan Boundary question connected in 1872-3 with the correct upper course of the Oxus, and with the point whether Wakhan was an Afghan dependency or not. It will rest content with stimulating Bokharan ambition, reviving the independent ideas of the native dynasties of these small states, and with encouraging those members of the old reigning family of Badakshan, who would wish to see it independent of Cabul, and Faizabad relieved of the presence of an Afghan officer. In the official summary* published by the Russian Government of the whole course of the negotiations, there even occurs what may be called a distinct admission that the ambiguity left by the negotiations of 1872-3 has now been cleared up.

It seems highly probable that Russia's diminished interest in this quarter is due not to any change of opinion

* See a translation of this in *The Times* of Sept. 20th.

with regard to the desirability of approaching India from the direction of the Pamir, but simply to the perception of the greater facilities offered by the Charjui Railway for reaching this part of the Afghan frontier. For this reason not merely has the Samarcand line been pressed on with almost feverish haste, but we have had the occupation of Kerki * followed by the commencement of a railway along the river upwards from Charjui. Nor is this all. The preliminary works of a permanent bridge at Charjui seem to have been far advanced, and if the latest reports are accurate the Oxus will have been spanned quite as soon as General Annenkoff's line of railway reaches Samarcand. The assertion that Russia contemplates the construction at an early date of another bridge across the same river at Kilif must not be accepted literally, but rather as the tardy admission of one of the chief reasons why Russia wished to attenuate Afghan claims on the Oxus. These acts and rumours suffice to show that Russia has decided upon a deliberate course of completing her communications between the Caspian and Turkestan, and of pushing her railways and steamers up to and indeed beyond the limits of Afghan authority. Not merely will this place her in a favourable position for taking advantage of events in Turkestan, but it will contribute to the maintenance of her exclusive right to the navigation of the Oxus based on the treaty with Khiva and established by the complete subservience of Bokhara. This right would allow Russian vessels to proceed to the highest navigable point which is considerably above Kilif, and Kilif is above Kham-i-Ab. As the Afghans have no boats, much less vessels, on the river, the assertion of this privilege will not interfere with the personal rights of Afghan subjects, while the possession of one bank by Bokhara will give something more than a

* Professor Vambéry attaches great, and perhaps excessive, importance to this act. He certainly ignores the practical point which could alone be considered by the English and Indian Governments. Is Kerki in Afghanistan? No, it is not. Therefore it is outside our sphere of influence.

formal sanction to the presence of the Russian flag opposite villages and ferries subject to the unquestioned authority of the Ameer.

The inconvenience and ultimate danger of this proximity need not be dilated upon; but it must be remembered that nothing in the Convention between England and Russia will prevent Russia exacting reparation for an assault on a boat's crew at either Kilif or Chushka or any other ferry, while she will have avoided the insinuations that might be made if the provocation were to occur at a point along the delimited portion of the frontier. Indeed, it is highly probable that this act of provocation will be given in the natural course of events when the Ameer's officers discover some fine morning a Russian boat flying the Czar's flag off an Afghan post, or Russian engineers laying the first piles of a bridge that is to connect at the decree of the Russian Government, Afghanistan with Mawaranahar.

The expression of my belief that Russia will respect that part of the Afghan frontier which has been defined implies no admission that a cessation of Russian activity in the Central Asian region is probable. On the contrary, it shows how systematically Russia works. From Zulfikar to the Oxus diplomacy has given the Czar everything he could hope to obtain without war, and he has prudently contented himself with what he has been able to acquire on those conditions. But it would be folly to suppose that he is blind to his opportunities in other directions, or that he has formed a virtuous resolve not to avail himself of them. The policy upon which his ministers and Central Asian authorities are bent is the severing of Afghan Turkestan from Cabul. This is not to be effected so well by encroachments on the pasturages of Andkoi and Maimena as by a deliberate plan of commercial and military development on the main stream of the Oxus where no diplomatic arrangement ties Russia's hands except the general stipulation that her operations are to be confined to its northern

bank. The mode in which that plan will be worked out has been already described. In creating disturbance in Shignan and Roshan, in strengthening the disintegrating elements within Afghan Turkestan itself, Russia need not openly show her hand, while she is within her legitimate right in improving her communications within the region that has now been as formally resigned to her as Afghanistan has been reserved from her enterprize.

A consideration of these facts ought to make it clear that Russia has many opportunities and a considerable margin of time before she need clash with our Government in regard to Afghan Turkestan. But this interval of grace ought not to blind us to the fact that when Russia wants an excuse for extending her operations and putting forward claims within the Ameer's boundary it will be very easy for her to discover or manufacture plausible provocation to justify her action, and if we are wisely governed we shall take steps to anticipate Russia's policy and to provide against its consequences. This can only be done by accepting to a much larger degree than hitherto the personal responsibility for the conduct of the Afghans, and by placing the borders under the charge of English officers who would report the facts and whose very presence, especially if in telegraphic communication with India, would impose some restraint on their Russian neighbours. It must be admitted that there is very little likelihood of any English Government being induced to accept this responsibility, notwithstanding the increased confidence arising from the safe return of our officers. We must, therefore, face the consequences of our leaving the Afghans uncontrolled, and we must be prepared to find a very large section of the public always inclined to accept the Russian version of any hostile collision as more likely to be true than the Afghan. Our action will be hampered by doubt as to the facts, and the natural reluctance to embark upon a great struggle without the clearest cause shown must contribute to Russia's success in discrediting and undermining

Afghan authority. If we cannot incur the charge of placing a Resident at Balkh or even at Andkoi we should not omit to impress upon the Ameer the necessity of vigilance on the part of his representative in Turkestan, who should be wary of providing his neighbours with the least cause of umbrage.

Up to this attention has been paid exclusively to the situation on the Oxus and in Turkestan east of the part of the frontier just delimited, but it must be remembered that the field west of the same line is equally open to Russian enterprise. Nor is Russia showing herself less alive to her opportunities in this quarter than, according to our view, she is on the northern frontier of Afghanistan. In Persia she has likewise pursued the double course of improving her communications and establishing her political influence in the Shah's capital. Her railway along the northern frontier of Khorasan is primarily the means of communication with Merv and Samarcand, but it is in the second place hardly less important as the trunk line from which branch lines into Persia must at an early date radiate. The first step indeed has been taken by the construction of a steam tramway from Askabad to Koochan, whence it is to be continued as the pioneer of a railway to the important city of Meshed. More than one project is on foot and in favour for connecting Teheran itself with the Caspian, and we must be prepared for unceasing efforts on the part of the Czar's Government in the years immediately before us to carry a railway conducted under its direct control and in its interests up to the vicinity of Herat. The Afghans will welcome or they will resent the advent of traders. In either case their attitude will precipitate the solution of the question, what will the Afghans do when the termini of Russian or Russo-Persian railways are opposite their outposts? All the present indications point to the conclusion that the Afghans will resent the intrusion and precipitate a collision inevitable in itself, but one we should like to see brought about in a manner calculated to impress

the public of England with an unqualified sense of the aggressiveness of Russia.

In Persia, however, Russia's activity in road and railway construction will always be inferior and subordinate to the activity of her diplomacy. It has been said repeatedly and without contradiction that there is a secret treaty between Russia and Persia by the terms of which the former Power may at the proper moment occupy the province of Khorasan. In the fact itself there is nothing to excite surprise or disbelief, for whether M. Zinovieff extracted from the Shah a written convention of precise terms or not, there is no question that Persia would raise no obstacle to Russian troops marching by Meshed to the Afghan frontier in the event of war. It is with pain I have to record the conviction that the old argument long efficaciously employed and held *in terrorem* over the Shah's head of a diversion in the Persian Gulf has lost its weight, and that Persia will remain helpless in the hands of her northern neighbour until she sees England committed to a struggle on open terms with Russia in Europe or a Russian army in retreat from Afghanistan. In other words, those who expect Persia to be so encouraged by our minister's promises or frightened by his threats as to assert her independence and take up an attitude against Russia, must assume that the position at Teheran and in Khorasan remains the same as it was ten years ago, before the surrender to the Czar of Kars and Batoum on the one side, and of Askabad and Merv on the other. The fact that the Shah shows a disposition to make himself agreeable to us in matters that may arise from time to time on his southern coast affords no evidence that he is able or willing to adapt his general policy to the requirements of an English alliance.

I have no wish to lay undue stress on the Ayoob Khan incident which may very likely have ended before these lines can be in the reader's hands. But the escape of this Afghan prince from his place of confinement at Teheran,

and still more the concealment of his sudden departure for a week which was necessary to give him any chance of reaching the frontier testify little to the careful supervision under which the most important of the Afghan pretenders was kept by the Persian Government. It is quite incredible that the Shah's ministers, whatever their royal master's ignorance may have been, were not informed of Ayoob's disappearance immediately after he had left, yet the intelligence was not conveyed to the English Legation for nearly a week, and the pursuit of the fugitive was only undertaken on the urgent representations of Mr. Nicholson. The facts speak for themselves. There is no necessity to go so far as to say that Ayoob took this step at the direct instigation of the Russian minister, Prince Dolgorouki, and indeed it is probable that the Russian Legation was carefully kept in ignorance of the exact moment of Ayoob's departure. What is morally certain is that it had been arranged between Russia and Persia that whenever Ayoob Khan wished to leave Teheran there should be no hindrance placed in his way. The reticence and apathy of the Shah's ministers can only be explained by the existence of such an understanding, while the flight of Ayoob at this particular moment was probably due not to any scheme between himself and Russia, but to the receipt of some formal invitation to claim the Ameership from the Ghilzai rebels, who felt more sanguine of success than the result has justified. With regard to Ayoob's future expression need only be given to the hope that our Government will insist on his removal when recaptured to some more secure place of detention than the Shah's capital. His recapture, if he has been retaken, is wholly due to his error of judgment in fleeing towards the Afghan frontier instead of Russia.

* The Shah himself has shown the greatest eagerness to clear himself from any possible charge of connivance in Ayoob's escape which is now generally allowed to have been made with the knowledge and assistance of the Foreign Minister. This official, long notorious for his Russian sympathies, has now been displaced by the Shah in favour of a less bitter politician.

We cannot expect him to repeat this mistake solely for our benefit, and when next he wishes to take sudden leave of the Persian capital, he will be careful to conceal his movements till he is safe at Baku or Askabad. To this prospect it would be stupid to feign indifference, and we should act with decision and promptitude. His plans are a serious menace to the tranquillity of Afghanistan and the peace of Asia, and Russia has as much reason as we have, if the present harmony is to remain undisturbed, for seeing him consigned to some place where his ambition and movements will be harmless.

Enough has, perhaps, been said in the way of argument to show the directions in which Russia's policy in Central Asia may be now expected to develop itself, and it is sufficiently clear that the Northern Colossus has ample scope for activity without incurring the odium of any infringement of that part of the Afghan frontier which has been defined by the pillars of the Boundary Commission. Diplomacy and railway construction will occupy much of her time, but when the moment comes for any overt military act, Russia will spare no pains to throw the responsibility and the blame on the Afghans, and if there is no responsible English official on the scene it is much to be feared that this device may blunt the sense of indignation which an act of aggression against our ally of Afghanistan ought to arouse throughout the empire. We must also expect incessant attempts to create internal dissension in the Herat districts, and in the Pamir Khanates, and these will be executed as much by the application of the ethnographical principle as by the agency of pretenders like Ayoob. Already Russian writers have put forward the bold claim that of the citizens of Herat a large proportion are Russian subjects, and the murder of a Turcoman in an Afghan Bazaar, or on the highway, may be held at some future time to constitute a sufficient claim for reparation, and what is more, an adequate justification for retaliation. If the tranquillity of Afghanistan was assured, and the dynastic succession absolutely guaranteed in the

persons of Abdurrahman and his sons, there would still be much room for anxiety. But what should not be our vigilance and care when we know the peace of Afghanistan to be the ephemeral achievement of the present ruler, and that his death will be followed by a dynastic feud as bitter as that fought out in the six years after the death of Dost Mahomed?

Towards the solution of the dynastic question absolutely, no progress has been made since we last referred to the subject in these pages. The Ameer's son Habibullah has not been proclaimed heir-apparent as he ought to have been, and when anything happens to Abdurrahman his best friend will be uncertain whom he would wish proposed as his successor. All that is certain is that that ruler's cousin Ishak would give slight attention to any commands from Cabul, if he did not show that he thought the time had come for him to advance his own pretensions to the Ameer'ship. When such open dissension in the ruling branch of the Baruckzai family breaks out it must necessarily follow that Ayoob's party will regain strength and confidence at Herat, and that responsible persons will begin to discuss the possibility of Yakooob returning to the throne, which he occupied for so brief a period. So long as Abdurrahman lives these may be little more than idle conjectures, but the admission must be made that on his death the situation will inevitably become complicated and gloomy.

There is no great difficulty in anticipating the lines on which Russia will move during the next few years in Central Asia. The ultimate objects of her policy are the severance of Afghan Turkestan and the seizure of Herat. Even if she does not immediately attain them, her measures must tend to facilitate the operations necessary to procure the same end after a declaration of war. The practical question for us to decide is how we are to prevent the consummation of these plans, or if prevention be impossible, what action are we to take in return in order that the interests of the

empire and the security of India may not suffer? My present purpose must be satisfied from considerations of space with the mere formulation of the question, which above every other in our foreign policy ought to occupy the attention of the Home Government and that of India as well. There seems some reason to believe that we have secured a lull, and although it must be brief, it may still suffice to enable us to complete the railway communications on our own frontier, and the bridging of the Indus. It may also be possible to husband and develop the military resources of India herself. But schemes of frontier defence, however admirable scientifically, will never give the Indian public confidence, or maintain the reputation of England abroad. They are excellent so long as Russia is on the further side of Herat, but to effectually check Russia, and to preserve the independence of Afghanistan, requires something more difficult than elaborate strategical plans of defence. It requires a consistent and broad foreign policy, as clearly defined and ably carried out in Central Europe and on the Euxine as at Herat and on the Oxus. This course alone can bring about the failure of Russia's long-cherished designs on the integrity of India.

ASIATICUS.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

As three of the principal events of the quarter—the return of the Indian Princes from their visit to England, the position of affairs in Burmah, and the conclusion of the Afghan Boundary negotiations—are described and considered elsewhere in this number, there is no necessity to refer to them here.

The ever important matter of the defence of the Indian frontier has made very considerable progress towards the attainment of the necessary military improvements and the required facilities of communication. Lord Dufferin's visit next month to Quettah and Pisheen cannot fail to give an impetus to the conclusion of the steps sanctioned by the accepted Plan of Defence; and we may hope that not merely will the question of how the railway is to be carried to the other side of the Khoja Amran range on the plain of Candahar be promptly settled, but that the supreme importance of Kurrachee will be recognized in some open way, such as the construction of the strategical line to Khelat and Quettah, which we have more than once advocated. The Viceroy has already shown signs of interest in this matter. Whatever may be its commercial future, Kurrachee is unquestionably the military port of India, and on the prompt perception of this fact very much depends the efficacy of any scheme of frontier protection. While attention is drawn so markedly to the condition of the more important portion of the North-West Frontier, there are some grounds for believing that the Indian Government contemplate a thorough redistribution of the garrison in the peninsula, while some attempt may be made to utilize the at present useless armies of the Native States. It is

now generally recognized that this can only be done in consultation and hearty co-operation with the rulers of those territories. One fact to which we must advert in proof of the increased military strength of this country in India is the difficulty experienced in getting a sufficient number of English officers to serve in the Staff Corps, and to the issue of a notification in the *Gazette* that officers in regiments at home and elsewhere throughout the Empire will be allowed to volunteer.

The only trans-frontier subjects to which reference need be made is the question of Ayoob Khan, who still remains at large, and whose exact whereabouts is uncertain, although he is probably somewhere in the Seistan desert. There is some little chance of his being compelled to enter Beloochistan, when there should be a good prospect of his falling into the hands of our feudatory, the chief of Kharan. The movements of Ayoob have revived interest in the fact that, while Abdurrahman is in power, the representatives of the once formidable section of the Baruckzai House identified with the name and family of Shere Ali are in exile ; but if we couple Ayoob's escape with the recent expressions of Yakoob's friends at Mussoorie, it will be clear that they have lost neither hope nor vigilance. The publication of a memorandum by General Gordon on Yakoob's trial, in which, with a fresh command of the documents brought forward in the case, he unhesitatingly pronounces the ex-Ameer innocent of all participation in the Cabul massacre, must contribute towards restoring that prince's reputation. Whether it will bring him any nearer that return to Cabul on which he has now shown himself to be speculating, remains to be seen ; and the practical point to be decided is what is the present state of Yakoob's mind ? Of course the relative importance of Yakoob and Ayoob to the Ameership depends exclusively on the health and life of Ablurrahman.

At this moment comes a report that Ayoob has been captured in the Kaïn district, where he was reported to be

ten or twelve days ago ; and if this is true, there is no doubt that he has fallen into the hands of the Persian troops sent in pursuit of him. The question of the hour is, therefore, what is to be done with him, and we cannot insist too strongly on the utter inadequacy of any arrangement which does not ensure his being kept in greater security for the future. How far this can be done at any spot within the Shah's territory, must remain a matter of doubt, but at all events it is quite certain that that spot is not Teheran. We might reasonably insist on Ayoob being moved direct to Kerman or Shiraz from Kāin until the place of his final detention can be decided on, and a strong reason for doing so is to be found in the probability that once Ayoob returns to Teheran, diplomatic difficulties will be raised to his going anywhere else. If Ayoob cannot be conveyed through Beloochistan to India—which is the best and most politic measure—he should certainly be conducted in the direction of the Persian Gulf after as short an interval as the distance and the necessity of official intercommunications will allow.

The ratification of the Convention between England and China on the subject of Burmah confirms the arrangement by which we are to consolidate our position in that country with the cordial assent and sympathy of the Peking Government. The despatch of a decennial mission from the highest authority in Burmah, but composed of native Burmese, is to satisfy all the suzerain pretensions of China. On the other hand, she is to proceed in conjunction with us to the delimitation of the frontier, and to taking in hand such steps as shall best promote trade between the two Empires. The ratification shows that the Tsungli Yamen is prepared to carry out its part of the treaty, and there is no reason to apprehend any serious difficulty in defining the Yunnan boundary. China will be impelled by self-interest to gravitate more and more towards this country in Asia, more especially when the true designs of Russia on the Middle Kingdom become revealed, and General Prjevalsky's outspoken opinions recorded in another part of the Review

should do much to open the eyes of the Chinese to what is passing through the minds of the most influential Russian authorities on the subject.

With regard to China's suzerain rights over Asiatic states some very sensible remarks on them, as exemplified by the relations of China and Nepal, from the letter of our Resident at Khatmandoo, Mr. William Girdlestone, in *The Times* of 22nd September, may be quoted. They will only lose their value when the aggressive strength of China has developed to a much greater extent than there seems any likelihood of its doing within a reasonable number of years.

"There is no national importance attached in Nepal to the Mission, and at the Chinese Court it is one of many similar incidents, and therefore passes almost unnoticed. . . . The relation of Nepal to China was fairly enough indicated in a recent expression of the Chinese residents at Lhasa (*Pekin Gazette*, August 17, 1886), that 'Nepal is one of the distant dependencies and possesses the right of self-government.' . . . Were there ever to be a question of deciding between exclusive allegiance to England or to China, her geographical position, alike with her interests, would cause Nepal to throw in her lot with the former. To me the necessity for such a decision seems likely to remain outside the sphere of practical politics."

The postponement for, it is said, two years of the marriage of the Emperor Kwangsu, after it had been announced that his bride had been selected and preparations for the important ceremony commenced, is not a favourable sign for the health of this young ruler of many millions. Until he is married, doubts must be felt about the reality of his personal authority, and it may even be suspected that the Empress Regent is as reluctant to give up the exercise of personal power as she showed herself twelve years ago, on the occasion of Tungche's brief reign and death. If Kwangsu remains ruler in name rather than fact, it is by no means certain that China will be any the worse for remaining under the control of those experienced and astute persons at Peking, who have done so well for a considerable number of years. The most striking fact in connection with the *personnel* of the Supreme

Government, is the prominent part taken by the emperor's father, Prince Chun, who ought, properly speaking, to live in retirement, and he must be acting in collusion with his sister-in-law to keep the boy emperor in leading-strings for some time longer.

. . The sensational event of the quarter in China has been connected with commerce rather than politics. The mission of Count Mitkiewicz, the alleged concession for a variety of undertakings to an American syndicate, have aroused great attention and some alarm throughout English trading circles. Among those who would suffer most from this arrangement if it were carried out, there has been a very general expression of disbelief in the reality of the whole transaction. It is as difficult to accept this comfortable view of the latest stroke of Yankee enterprise as it is to endorse the accuracy of the sanguine expectations of the Philadelphia syndicate, whose representatives would have it believed that, because they have gained a little, nothing is going to be left for English and other foreign merchants. There seems no valid reason to doubt that Count Mitkiewicz obtained a contract for the supply of telephones, and that he obliged some of the Chinese authorities with small loans on very favourable terms. But this achievement falls very far short of the immense undertaking suggested by the first account of the matter. Those who know China best will agree with us in saying that when China makes contracts for a whole system of railways, and for a grand national bank, more than one tentative experiment will be made before any group gets the concession for the whole, or even the greater part, of these important schemes. Nor is there any reason for believing that our merchants in China are not a match in business and foresight for their American rivals, who, it must be admitted, have one tangible advantage in their greater readiness to accept the payment of interest in silver. It is also evident that China expects to be able to borrow at a lower rate of interest than she has hitherto done.

Although the French military operations in Indo-China have been crowned with that best form of success, the quietude of the country, the important question of the future relations between the French Republic and the King of Annam has reached an acute stage, and it is clear that the stability of the French position turns as much on the manner in which this difficulty is composed as on the good results of military operations in the Delta. It is probable that but for the mission of M. de Lanessan the dissatisfaction of the king and the whole Annamese civil service might have remained concealed, or at least without formal expression, for an indefinite period. M. de Lanessan is a recognized authority on all French colonial questions, and his reports on Burmah, Madagascar, and Obokh are excellent productions in their way. There is also no doubt of his sympathy with the recent efforts of France in the direction of colonial expansion, so that he cannot be considered an unfriendly critic of the officials who are carrying out in their own way the policy of the Republic. His suggestions are made with the view of assisting the course of that policy, and of increasing its benefits to his country.

At the same time it must be stated that we are not in official possession of M. de Lanessan's views and suggestions, which are embodied in a Report to the President of the Republic that has not been made public. A French newspaper published at Haiphong asserts that M. de Lanessan has coincided in his Report with the views expressed by the king in his letter to M. Grévy, and as the leading Paris papers, far from contradicting, have accepted the statement, there is every reason to rely on its correctness, which reveals the present critical position of France in Indo-China. The question of importance is, therefore, what did the king say in his letter, and as *The Standard* published a translation of this very important and original document in its issue of 20th of August, we are able to reproduce here its more significant passages, omitting only pure formalities and irrelevancies.

"1. The third article of the Treaty stipulates that the Annamite functionaries from the frontier of Cochin China to that of Tonquin shall continue to administer the provinces comprised within these limits. But up to this we have always been prevented from nominating and placing functionaries in the provinces of Binh Thuan, Khanh Hoa, and Phu Yen. In the rest of the territory defined by the third article the administration is entirely in the hands of French functionaries and officers. The mandarins only execute their orders, the smallest infraction of which meets with the severest punishment. Moreover, in each province, if the mandarins go on business to the Resident they draw down on themselves the attacks of the officers; and if, on the other hand, they go to the latter, the Resident will reprimand them; and if the Resident tells the officers not to mix themselves up with the local administration, the officers reply by advising him not to interfere with military matters.

"2. According to Articles 5 and 6, a Resident General shall reside at Hué, preside over the external relations of Annam, and assure the regular exercise of the Protectorate without mixing himself up in the local administration. In Tonquin the French Government shall place Residents or Assistant Residents in the chief places where their presence will be useful. They shall be under the orders of the Resident General. But these articles have since been modified. At Hué a superior Resident resides, but he has been subjected to the orders of the Resident General at Hanoi. Hanoi being so far from Hué, and the means of communication being rather complicated, much time is lost in carrying on official relations. If the Resident General resided at Hué, or if the Superior Resident there possessed the same powers, we could discuss business personally, curtail many questions, and utilize the time now lost. The Resident General being at Hanoi, and only coming occasionally to Hué, where he remains hardly ten days whenever there is business to be done, it is necessary to write in the first place to the Superior Resident, who transmits it to the Resident General, whose reply can only come after some time. These delays are of no consequence in unimportant matters, but they cause great injury in affairs that are urgent. We ask that the Resident General shall reside at Hué, or that the Superior Resident of Annam shall have, at least, all the powers for ensuring the exercise of the Protectorate in Annam proper in conformity with the Treaty.

"3. By Article 7 the Residents in Tonquin ought not to occupy themselves with the details of the internal administration. The native functionaries of all grades shall continue to govern under their control. They ought to be removed only on the demand of the French authorities. But since the French officials interfered in all branches of the administration the mandarins are become only their employed, and quite like sub-alterns, being dismissed or punished without any information being sent to either the court or the king.

"4. By Article 11, in Annam proper the quanbo will fix the taxes without the control of the French officials. In Annam proper we had formerly indirect contributions and customs; but the Protectorate has withdrawn from us the right over these taxes. Besides, for several years the numerous and almost continuous troubles have impoverished our country; we have absolutely lost Cochin China, and Tonquin can no

longer bring in what it used to do. There only remains the revenue of Annam proper to defray our expenses. If, then, the customs and the greater part of the indirect contributions are taken from us, we have not sufficient resources. This way of acting, besides, is not in conformity with the treaty. In 1886, M. Paul Bert fixed the share which ought to come back to us at three hundred thousand bands and three hundred thousand measures of rice. Of these quantities we have received barely half, and M. Bihourd refuses to enter into any engagement for 1887; and as to the future we are told that M. Paul Bert acted out of pure consideration and gave no written engagement. In this manner Tonquin has become rather a French colony than a province of Annam. .

"5. By Article 15, France binds herself to guarantee the integrity of the King of Annam's State, and to defend it against external attack and internal rebellion. With this object France can occupy in a military sense any points necessary for the effectual exercise of the Protectorate. From this it follows, as troops can only occupy places in the country in case of insurrection, that once the insurrection is at an end the troops ought to withdraw, and leave the administration in native hands. The Governor of Cochin China has entrusted one of his officials with the pacification of the provinces of Binh Thuan, Kahn Hoa, and Phu Yen. These provinces have been in his possession already for a whole year. The inhabitants are asking to whom are they subject. We have long asked the Resident General to send there native administrators, but we have not yet received a definite reply. The Resident General has spoken to us of the indemnity we ought to pay to Cochin China, but he has ignored the 130,000 piastres, and even more, raised from the inhabitants of these three provinces.

"6. There exists in our country a temple in each province consecrated to the reigning king, for the respect due to him, and it is the place to which the officials come to make their obeisance or to receive the king whenever he passes that way. But now these temples are often occupied by French officers and troops, who by their arrangements disturb everything, and even destroy parts of the temple. These things shock the people, who declare that the Annamite Administration do not know how to make the temples respected.

"7. At all times with us the functionaries ought to be nominated directly by the Court. But since the last unfortunate events the power of nomination has been entrusted to the Kinh-luoc, who has then had to apprise the Court. This delegation of the royal power was necessary in a time of disorder, when questions called for prompt decisions. But now that order is re-established, there is every advantage to be gained from the centralization of power. In our country great honour attaches to the discharge of public functions; but the honour is no honour unless it comes from the king."

The letter concludes with this significant passage :

"Moreover, the Tonquin race has always been a literate and ambitious race. If, then, the learned classes are not appreciated or employed at their just value and according

to their skill, they become bad subjects, whence grow the sources of all disorders, and we, as the governors, ought to avoid as much as possible all these first causes of trouble and dissension."

Death has been busy during the quarter, and in Sir Ashley Eden has been lost a prominent representative of the best type of Anglo-Indian. In Burmah and Bengal he showed the qualities of an administrator and the capacity rarely combined of being able to uphold the dignity and efficiency of his Government, and at the same time to keep the natives in good humour. If we were asked to assign the cause of this success we should say it was due not to any great ability or marked genius, but to the sound sense and tolerant temper which help to make the perfect man of the world. This was precisely Sir Ashley Eden's special distinction among an official class which from the very conditions of its recruitment, is composed of men who have had few opportunities of seeing the world, and who are apt to take too professional a view of questions as they arise. As an official Sir Ashley Eden was equalled by many of his contemporaries, and surpassed by some; where he excelled them was in tact, and a good-tempered determination not to magnify trifles into tragedies.

Sir Barrow Ellis, who also died during the quarter, was a very different man, and his chief claim in the eyes of posterity will be his success in ingratiating himself with the native community. In Bombay and at the Northbrook Club he was certainly a *persona gratissima*.

Another Anglo-Indian worthy of an older school has also passed away in the person of Colonel Haughton, who was one of the Afghan captives in 1842, and whose claim to remembrance consists in his defence of the town of Charikar, north-west of Cabul, when the Goorkha regiment, to which he acted as adjutant, was vanquished more by thirst than the Afghan. Colonel Haughton's death further reduces the already small band of the survivors of our first expeditions beyond the Suleiman.

Of course the most important historical personage who died during the quarter was Wajid Ali Shah, the ex-King of Oude. The annexation of that important province to the British dominions was caused by his enormities, but the orgies which characterized his ten years' rule at Lucknow seem to have been typical of his thirty years' enforced residence on the banks of the Hooghly. He leaves many sons and successors, but the family of Surajah Dowlah will hardly rise again from the obscurity to which fate and its own faults have consigned it. As the annexation of Oude was the last forfeiture of his territory by a great Indian prince, we may perhaps venture to say that the lesson of its disappearance has been taken to heart by other Indian potentates, and we are not less gratified than they can be that a great responsibility has been thus taken off our shoulders.

REVIEWS.

The Saracens.

• THE dearth of books on Asiatic subjects this quarter speaks little for the activity of the writers interested in, and capable of dealing with, them. The limited space occupied by literature in our present number is a fair measure of the quantity of new works that have made their appearance in the last three months; the complaint is all the more solid because there is no prospect of an improvement in the coming quarter if the publishers' announcements reveal the whole extent of their programme. One volume of an interesting rather than an important character has made its appearance in Mr. Arthur Gilman's volume on the Saracens, which forms part of the series known as "The Story of the Nations" (T. Fisher Unwin). The Saracens, who derived their name from being inhabitants of the desert, are identical with the Arabs, and consequently the earlier chapters of Mr. Gilman's popular history contain the family history of Mahomed and his assumption of the character of Prophet. The name became most famous and familiar in the time of the Crusades, and it would be strictly correct to include under the same narrative the achievements of the Moors in Spain, and the followers of Saladin in Syria. Mr. Gilman has been compelled to curtail his subject and thus bring it within modest dimensions, but the story of the Saracenic or Arab race is admirably told in a series of short chapters down to the collision with the Mongols and the capture of Bagdad. The whole volume should be read for itself, but we may particularize as especially well worth reading the author's account of the rise of the Abbasides.

The India List.

THE July number of Allen's Official India List (W. H. Allen & Co.), which is issued half-yearly, has made its appearance with its usual punctuality, and this work, as is well known, affords the only complete and correct list of the covenanted, uncovenanted, and military services in India. In addition it contains a full list of those retired members who are on pension. Particulars of the examinations, furlough rules, staff corps conditions, the details of the pension regulations, and a multitude of other important matters relating to Indian administration are also fully and clearly described in the volume, which contains much information that could not easily be found elsewhere while it fully maintains its well-established character as the official list of the Indian services.

The Cosmology of the Rigveda.

THIS volume ["The Cosmology of the Rigveda," an essay by H. W. WALLIS. (Williams and Norgate.)], is published by the Hibbert trustees, and this fact added to the author's name is strong evidence as to its scholarly character. To students of Sanscrit and of the early religions of India it cannot fail to be useful, especially as Mr. Wallis is so modest as not to claim finality for his work.

